DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 124 484 SO 009 227

AUTHOR Rice, Marion J.; Barnes, Buckley R.
TITLE Cultural Continuity and Change in Mexico and the United States.
INSTITUTION Georgia Univ., Athens. Anthropology Curriculum Project.
REPORT NO 76-1
PUB DATE 76
NOTE 205p.
AVAILABLE FROM Anthropology Curriculum Project, University of Georgia, 107 Dudley Hall, Athens, Georgia 30601 ($2.50)

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 Plus Postage. HC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS *American Culture; American History; *Comparative Analysis; Cross Cultural Studies; Cultural Background; Cultural Differences; Cultural Factors; Cultural Interrelationships; Cultural Traits; Elementary Secondary Education; Land Settlement; Language; *Latin American Culture; Political Attitudes; Religion; Social Studies
IDENTIFIERS Mexico; United States

ABSTRACT

Culture is the main subject of this student material for a quarter or one-semester course on a comparative study of Mexico and the United States. The ongoing processes of continuity and change in culture and their relationship are emphasized. The first chapter is devoted to the concept of culture, the total way of life of a people from language and games to work and housing. The next chapter examines the processes involved in cultural change and the reasons why cultures do not remain the same, including their stability and lag. Spanish, Indian, and English cultural heritages are discussed in the third chapter. Heritage refers to the fact that modern-day Americans and Mexicans are what they are because of their past. Subsequent chapters deal with language, religion, land tenure and labor, and political institutions. These particular aspects of culture show how cultures remain stable while change occurs. Each chapter contains an organization section that precedes the chapter's text and provides an overview of main ideas discussed. The first three chapters can be used as supplementary material in courses on religion, geography, or political science. (Author/ND)

****
* Documents acquired by ERIC include many informal unpublished *
* materials not available from other sources. ERIC makes every effort *
* to obtain the best copy available. Nevertheless, items of marginal *
* reproducibility are often encountered and this affects the quality *
* of the microfiche and hardcopy reproductions ERIC makes available *
* via the ERIC Document Reproduction Service (EDRS). EDRS is not *
* responsible for the quality of the original document. Reproductions *
* supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made from the original. *
****

PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS COPYRIGHTED MATERIAL BY MICROFICHE ONLY HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
Russell Cobb
TO ERIC AND ORGANIZATIONS OPERATING UNDER AGREEMENTS WITH THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION. FURTHER REPRODUCTION OUTSIDE THE ERIC SYSTEM REQUIRES PERMISSION OF THE COPYRIGHT OWNER.

U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

ED124484

CULTURAL CONTINUITY and CHANGE

in MEXICO and the UNITED STATES

SO 009 227

by
M. J. RICE
B. R. BARNES

ANTHROPOLOGY CURRICULUM PROJECT
UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA
M. J. RICE, DIRECTOR

CULTURAL CONTINUITY and CHANGE in MEXICO and the UNITED STATES

by

Marion J. Rice
Buckley R. Barnes

Publication No. 76-1
Anthropology Curriculum Project
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

1976

Copyright © 1976
Anthropology Curriculum Project

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
	FOREWORD	vii
	INTRODUCTION	x
	UNIT ORGANIZER	1
I	CULTURE	
	Chapter Organizer	2
	Culture is Learned.	4
	Biology	5
	Only Man has Language	5
	Only Man has Culture.	6
	Cultural Universals	7
	Cultural Trait Variations	8
	Material Culture.	8
	Nonmaterial Culture	9
	Conclusion.	10
II	CULTURAL CHANGE	
	Chapter Organizer	11
	Cultures Change	14
	Causes of Cultural Change	
	Section Organizer	15
	Discovery.	17
	Invention.	17
	Diffusion.	19
	Acculturation.	21
	Cultural Stability and Cultural Lag	
	Section Organizer	23
	Cultural Stability	24
	Cultural Lag	26
	Acceleration of Change, Planned Change and Resistance to Change	
	Section Organizer	27
	Acceleration of Change	28
	Planned Change	29
	Resistance to Change	31
	Conclusion.	35
III	THE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF MEXICO AND THE UNITED STATES	
	Chapter Organizer	36
	Heritage.	37

CHAPTER		PAGE
	Spanish and Indian Heritage of Mexico	37
	English Heritage of the United States	38
	Acculturation in Mexico	39
	Dominance of English Traits in the United States Culture	40
	Conclusion	41
IV	CHANGES IN THE LANGUAGE TRAITS OF MEXICO AND THE UNITED STATES	
	Chapter Organizer	42
V	RELIGION IN MEXICO AND THE UNITED STATES	
	Chapter Organizer	48
	Conversion of the Indians to Christianity: Mexico	
	Section Organizer	54
	The Effect of Prophecy	56
	Human Sacrifice	57
	Force	57
	Spanish Missionary Effort	58
	Syncretism	59
	The Virgin of Guadalupe	64
	Conversion of the Indians to Christianity: United States	
	Section Organizer	67
	The English Missionary Effort	68
	The New England Example of Indian Conversion	69
	The Spanish Missionary Effort in the United States	70
	Unity and Diversity in the Catholic and Protestant Colonial Traditions in Mexico and the United States	
	Section Organizer	72
	Establishment and Disestablishment	73
	Uniformity and Diversity in Religion	74
	Seculars and Jesuits in Mexico	76
	Religious conformity and diversity: religious thought	78
	The Great Awakening and the Great Revival	79
	Rationalism: Deism and Unitarianism in the United States	80

CHAPTER PAGE

The Emergence of New Protestant Churches in the United States: Diversity Increases
Section Organizer 82
The Baptist Church 83
Growth of Catholic Church in the United States 85
Religious Intolerance
Section Organizer 87
Religious bigotry and intolerance in colonial period 88
Nativism and Anti-Catholicism in the United States 90
Anti-Semitism in the United States . . 91
Anti-Protestantism in Mexico 93
Political Role of the Church
Section Organizer 94
The Wealth of the Church 97
Mexico. 99
United States 101
Religion in Mexico and the United States Today
Section Organizer 103

VI LAND TENURE, LABOR, AND INCOME IN MEXICO AND THE UNITED STATES

Chapter Organizer. 109
Land Tenure and Labor Before European Contact 112
Land Tenure and Labor in Mexico in the Colonial Period
Section Organizer 116
Encomienda. 118
Repartimiento 120
Hacienda and debt peonage 120
Slavery 121
Free wage labor 121
Non-agricultural labor 122
Land Tenure and Labor in Mexico Since Independence
Section Organizer 123
Expansion of the *hacienda* system . . . 125
The *ejido* system 125
Non-agricultural labor and income . . . 126
Income 127

CHAPTER		PAGE
	Land Tenure and Labor in the United States	
	Section Organizer	129
	Land tenure	131
	Labor shortage--indenture and slavery	132
	The family farm in the United States	135
	Increase of size of farms	135
	Bracero labor	136
	Labor and labor unions in the United States	136
	Conclusion	138
VII	POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS IN MEXICO AND THE UNITED STATES	
	Chapter Organizer	141
	Political Institutions of the Aztecs and Eastern Woodland Indians	
	Section Organizer	143
	Aztecs.	144
	Eastern Woodland Indians	144
	Spanish and English Political Institutions at Time of First Settlement	
	Section Organizer	154
	Centralization and Decentralization: Environment and Tradition	
	Section Organizer	157
	Mexico.	158
	Centralization of Government in New Spain	161
	United States	162
	Decentralization in the English Colonies	164
	Representation: The Road to American Independence	
	Section Organizer	165
	Social Class and Revolution in Mexico and the United States	
	Section Organizer	170
	Mexico.	171
	United States	171
	Stable Political Development in the United States	
	Section Organizer	172
	Instability, Reform, Reaction, and Revolution in Mexico	
	Section Organizer	177

CHAPTER PAGE

The Contemporary Political Heritage:
United States and Mexico
Section Organizer 182
Constitution. 183
Federal System 184
President 184
Political Parties 185
Congress 185
Judiciary 186
Army. 187
Church 187
Socialism and Capitalism 188
Summary 189

LIST OF TABLES

TABLES		PAGE
1	Cultural Change Model	16
2	Comparison of Aztec-Catholic Religious Traits, Early Sixteenth Century	61
3	National Income and Income per person	140
4	Comparison of Political Institutions of Mexico & the United States	146
5	Centralization of Government in New Spain . .	161
6	Decentralization in the English Colonies . .	164

FOREWORD

This student text Cultural Continuity and Change in Mexico and the United States embodies two distinct features--advance organizer and comparative methodology. The advance organizer is adapted from D. P. Ausubel's theory of reception learning, and is a systematic overview of the major ideas to be taught. There are three levels of organizers--unit, chapter, and section. These organizers appear on separate pages, preceded by the letters AO. The study and reading of the advance organizers may be omitted, but the theory of their use suggests that if the student first gains some knowledge of what he is to study in depth, he acquires anchoring concepts to which more detailed information may be subsequently adapted.

The second distinct feature is the comparative approach, an adaptation from ethnology. Instead of two separate accounts of the history of Mexico and the history of the United States, an attempt is made to compare and contrast, to point out similarities as well as differences, and attempt to explain and not merely to describe. For this reason, most chapters are divided into four chronological periods--pre-Columbian, colonial, nineteenth century, and contemporary--and the developments within those periods presented and compared. Hopefully, the student will acquire not only useful knowledge about two important neighboring countries, but he will also acquire an explanatory system to help him understand why there are differences and similiarities in the cultures of the two countries.

The pilot edition is lacking two features we hope can be added when funds become available. The first is a comparative pictorial essay, which will help the student to visualize the comparisons described in the text. For example, one of the distinctive features on the Mexican landscape is the baroque church, with its flanking towers and dome over the crossing. In contrast, the Georgian, single spired church, modeled after St. Martin's in the Fields, is a standard feature of ecclesiastical architecture in the United States. Illustrations of this nature will help the student to better conceptualize differences in the two cultures.

The second feature we hope to add is a parallel text in Spanish, with English on one page and the Spanish text on the opposite. A bilingual text would thus not only serve the function of using Spanish to teach children useful information about Mexico, but it would demonstrate to children the utility of Spanish as a language of instruction and not merely a literary form.

This book now consists of seven chapters, for a quarter or semester course of study. In the event a teacher is unable to devote this much time to this comparative study of Mexico and the United States, it is suggested that the first few chapters be utilized in conjunction with either Chapter 5, 6, or 7.

Other projected chapters include:
Comparative Physiography
Cultural Perception and the Landscape
The Arts: Art, Architecture, Crafts, Music
Education
Technology
Population
Two capitals--Mexico City and Washington, D. C.

The unit has three major objectives. The first relates to an increase in knowledge. As a result of this study, the student will acquire new facts, concepts, and generalizations about the history and culture of Mexico and the United States. The second objective relates to methodology. This book is a systematic comparative study of history and culture. The student is expected to develop skills in comparative analysis and synthesis which he may transfer to the study of other cultures.

The third objective belongs to the nebulous area of understanding and appreciation, and is important though more difficult to measure than the two cognitive objectives previously described. It is hoped that this study will contribute to a greater respect and understanding of cultural differences--of Anglo of the Mexican heritage and Mexican American of the Anglo heritage. This sense of respect and mutual esteem is important for the development of democratic citizenship in sections of the country where large numbers of Americans of Anglo and Mexican heritage come into contact. And it is important for Americans of Mexican heritage to understanding the cultural roots of their forbears while gaining a better appreciation of the English institutions which form the foundation of their country--the United States of America.

And finally, it is important for hemispheric cooperation that the Latin American and Anglo worlds gain a better understanding of each other. Contacts of trade, tourism, investment, and migration are increasingly important while the United States is increasingly portrayed in Latin America unfavorably as the vulture of the North. Thus in espousing a greater knowledge and appreciation of Latin America by North Americans, it is also thought that Latin Americans might try to concurrently acquire a greater knowledge and appreciation of American culture.

But, a beginning must be made somewhere. The United States was the first independent country in the Americas, and, in the course of time, has become the largest and wealthiest. Americans of the United States can begin the process of hemispheric understanding by more study of the history and culture of the Latin American countries. This book is designed to contribute to this effort.

INTRODUCTION

It is the year 1500, a convenient time to mark the beginning of modern history in the West. That remarkable flowering of intellectual and aesthetic revival, the Renaissance, had suffused Europe with a new life, a new spirit. But for the purposes of this story, two important achievements had occurred. One was consolidation. After a period of internal discord, two countries achieved a national unity--England under the Tudors and Spain under Isabelle and Ferdinand. Soon they would become classic enemies, dynastic jealousies fanned by the religious differences which would pit Protestant England against Catholic Spain. The second event was one of expansion. The remarkable voyage of Columbus in 1492 had set off a scramble of discovery, exploration, conquest, and colonization. For almost a century Spain enjoyed a monopoly in America, transplanting to the new lands her language, religion, government, and economic system. And then, tardily, England began to establish colonies on the Atlantic seacoast of North America, finally ousting France from the continent. Neither England nor Spain were destined to remain in control of the Western Hemisphere--the Spanish as well as British colonies revolted and became independent. But independence did not mean the end of British nor of Spanish influence. The Western Hemisphere became a captive of the European culture area through colonization, divided into two major sub-cultural areas known today as Latin America and Anglo America, each with a distinct language and way of life.

This text you are about to study has two major themes. The first theme is continuity. The second is change. For the remarkable thing about culture is that it can change in some ways and yet remain the same, like the proverbial character who remains mean and stingy even in his suit of new clothes.

The central character of our story is named Culture. Man, in his physical attributes, is everywhere very much the same. Despite some differences in skin color and texture of hair, biological man is the same: he walks upright on two legs, has two arms and hands, and two eyes, nose, and mouth in a head tied to a torso by a short neck. He eats, he sleeps. He is born and he dies. A not very remarkable animal, despite his bipedal locomotion and tool-using hands.

But those tool using hands, combined with a very remarkable brain and a capacity for language, has permitted man to create for himself a special kind of world no other animal has. A world of culture--a world of artifacts, knowledge, behaviors, values, beliefs, and feelings that

he can pass on to his young through learning. And despite the fact that man everywhere is much alike, the cultures he creates for himself can be vastly different. He can quench his thirst by lapping up water from a muddy pool, or sip an iced beverage from Waterford crystal. He can cut firewood to burn in a chimney, or make coke to burn in a brazier. He can hunt or farm, ranch or garden. He can live in a cave or in a penthouse. And all of these ways of living he passes on to his children and his children to theirs. And although culture is not genetically transmitted, it is inherited. One generation passes on to another its skills and knowledge as well as accumulation of houses, furniture, bric-a-brac, and other possessions laboriously achieved.

Just why some people make certain adaptations to their environment is not known. But by the time Western Europe emerged from the chrysalis of the Middle Ages, people in England and Spain had become to think of themselves as Englishmen and Spaniards. After all, their lands were not the same and the verdant green of England contrasted sharply with arid brown of Spain. And while Saxon may have fought Norseman, he had not fought the Moor. Nor had his country been for half a millenium subject of companion to Muslim-Berber influences. So each in his own land in his own way had made for himself a way of life that suited his needs. And young Englishman or Spaniard, chameleon-like, took on his culture and carried it with him wherever he went, like the worn but comfortable coat it was. And so it was that one day George Washington set a precedent for two terms as President of the United States and withdrew to his Mount Vernon plantation on the Potomac. In Mexico Iturbide had himself proclaimed emperor and initiated half a century of political strife. Such a contrast over-simplifies the complex processes of culture continuity, but it dramatizes the fact that the legacy of England and of Spain did not end with their loss of political control.

In the process of transplanting and growth in the New World, both English and Spanish cultures changed. There was the adaptation to the new environment and there were changes in Europe. The England of George III was not the same England as in the days of Elizabeth, nor was the Spain of Charles VI the same as the Spain of Isabelle and Ferdinand. And in less than half a century 500 years will have elapsed since Cortes began his first march to Tenochtitlan, and 400 years since Jamestown was founded. There has been time for the cultural roots to set and to nurture a rich branching. So in technology, business, and government as well as in the more mundane ways of living, there has been time to change. In this process of change, two new cultures have emerged, Mexican and American. The people of both nations can be proud of what their forefathers have shaped.

But in the shaping, they have retained the legacy of England and Spain which make the cultures of the two countries different despite the homogenization of twenteith century industrialization, modern technology, and business.

UNIT ORGANIZER

CULTURAL CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN MEXICO AND THE UNITED STATES

This book has two main themes, given in the title. Can you locate the words that name these ideas? The first idea is that the cultures of Mexico and the United States have many traits which can be traced back to the Spanish and English colonizers. This idea is expressed by the words cultural continuity. The second idea is that cultures do not remain the same, but change in time. Thus the cultures of Mexico and the United States are similar to those of Spain and England, but are not the same.

Take, for example, language: Mexicans speak Spanish, and Americans, English. But the language is not the same. A Mexican can talk with a Spaniard, just as an American can talk with an Englishman, but both Mexican Spanish and American English have changed in stress, pronunciation, and in word usage.

But what is culture? What is it that is stable and yet changes? The first chapter is devoted to the concept of CULTURE, the big idea that anthropologists used to refer to the total way of life of a people, from language and games to work and housing. The next chapter then moves on to examine the processes of CULTURAL CHANGE. You will learn the reasons why cultures do not remain the same. The third chapter develops the idea of CULTURAL HERITAGE--the fact that modern day Americans and Mexicans are what they are because they have a past, a history expressed through different cultures.

Each of the next chapters take up a particular aspect of culture to show how cultures remain stable while change occurs.

LANGUAGE is the subject of Chapter IV; RELIGION, Chapter V, LAND TENURE, Chapter VI, and POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS, Chapter VII. Language is the most important aspect of culture, because it is the way men transmit their ideas. They not only communicate in the present, but the past speaks through written records and archeological remains that are interpreted in terms of language. Language, which separates Mexico and the United States into two different speech communities, is the most important means of maintaining cultural identity.

At the time Mexico and the United States were colonized, religion was one of the most important parts of the culture. Aztec, Eastern Woodland Indian, Spanish Catholic, and English Protestant--all had their way of life shaped by ideas of God and right conduct, punishment and redemption,

sin and salvation that seems far removed from today when a minority of people go to church and shopping centers open on Sunday. Yet in many ways our ideas of virtue and the good, of the way to behave, and the justification of punishment are derived from our religious heritage.

Until the twentieth century in the United States, and even now in Mexico, the basis of the economy was agricultural rather than industrial. The system of owning land and the organization of labor related to land influenced not merely the way of making a living, but the whole social structure. Thus the feudal-like land tenure system of Mexico and the small-owner-operator farm in the United States influenced more than economics--land tenure was related to the class system, economic development, and the issue of political power, the control of the state.

The last chapter in the present book is devoted to political institutions. It shows the diverse influences of centralization in Mexico and decentralization in the United States. It shows the relationship of representation to the development of democratic institutions. Mexico as well as the United States today have republican and democratic forms of government, but they are different. In the process of cultural development, Mexicans and Americans have developed political institutions which meet their needs in ways which reflect their different cultures.

The cultures of the United States and Mexico reflect their heritage and the processes of change, giving to each nation a distinct personality and character. Understanding these differences may contribute to more effective Mexican-American cooperation.

Chapter I

CULTURE

Chapter Organizer

Culture is the man-made part of life that a group of people learns and passes on to the younger members of the group. The things that people believe, make, and do are all part of culture.

Enculturation is the process of learning about one's own culture. When a child in the United States learns to speak the English language from his parents, he is being enculturated. When a child in Mexico learns to speak Spanish from his parents, he is being enculturated.

Culture is different from heredity and different from biological needs. Culture is learned whereas hereditary characteristics and biological needs are with the child from birth. Learning to eat in a certain way is cultural. Having a certain color of skin is hereditary. Being thirsty is a biological need.

Language is an important part of culture. It enables man to learn a great deal about the past and helps him prepare for the future. Other animals do not have language.

Man is the only animal who has culture. Man has the ability to think on a much higher level than any other animal. Language helps man to think and to control the things around him. Man has discovered and invented things to help him control the environment. He has created ways of growing and storing food so that he will not go hungry.

There are some cultural needs that are found in every culture in the world. These are called cultural universals. Language is a cultural universal because all cultures have language.

Culture is made up of many different traits. A fork is a trait and so is a way of holding a fork. Different cultures have different traits. These differences are called variations.

CHAPTER I

CULTURE

Culture is the way of life of a group of people. Culture is that part of the group's way of life that is man-made. It consists of the things that the people have learned to do, to believe, to value, and to enjoy throughout the group's history.

The habits, customs, and even the ways of thinking of a group are part of its culture. The tools, skills, objects, and institutions are part of culture, too. The language people speak, the way they eat, the way they dress, and the way they make a living are part of a group's culture. Even the games they play, the music they sing, the stories they tell, and the pictures they paint are part of culture. The ways they organize their families, raise their children, and worship God are all part of culture.

Culture is Learned

Culture is that part of a group's way of life that is man-made. People are not born with culture; they must learn it. People teach their culture to other people so we can say that people transmit culture.

Learning the ways of one's culture is called enculturation. Enculturation begins when a child is very young. He learns the language, games, and ideas about right and wrong of his culture while he is growing up. He learns the proper way of eating in his culture. He learns what clothes to wear and how to wear them according to the custom of his group.

Children learn a great deal about their culture from other children but they learn most about it from older people. They learn about their culture from their parents, relatives, teachers, and other adults. Culture is passed on or transmitted from generation to generation. Adults are members of one generation while children are members of a younger generation. The transmission of culture from

generation to generation simply means that older people pass on their culture's ways to younger children. Enculturation is the process of a younger generation learning the ways of their culture from an older generation.

Biology

Culture is that part of a group's way of life that is man-made and that is learned. There are some things about groups of people that are not man-made and that are not learned. These things should not be confused with culture.

Man has certain biological characteristics. They are biological because man is born with them. They are not cultural because they are not man-made and they are not learned. The biological characteristics of man can be placed in two groups; heredity and biological needs.

Hereditary characteristics are those which are inherited from one's parents. Color of eyes, hair, and skin are hereditary characteristics. They are not cultural because people do not learn them.

Biological needs are wants that all living things have and that cannot be ignored. All men have the same biological needs. All men need food, water, and shelter from cold or bad weather.

This book is about cultural change. Biological needs and hereditary traits are not part of cultural change.

Only Man has Language

Language is a part of culture and culture is learned. These two facts are related because people learn a great deal about their culture through language. Language is the use of symbols to communicate meaning. Language can be written and it can be spoken. Language can help a person understand things that he has not actually experienced himself.

Here is an example of how language can help people learn about something that they have not seen themselves. Do you know anything about George Washington? Of course

you do. You probably know quite a bit about him even though you have never seen him yourself. You learned about him through language. If someone told you about George Washington they used oral or spoken language. If you read about him you used written language. Either way you learned through language.

Language can be used to prepare for the future as well as to learn about the past. Here is an example of how people can use language to prepare for the future. Boy and Girl Scouts study first aid so that they will know how to help someone who is hurt if an accident occurs. Language is used to help people prepare for problems and situations that they have not faced before.

Other animals cannot prepare themselves for situations or problems that they have not faced before. Only man can do this. This is because only man has language. Man uses language to transmit his culture. Animals have no language so they cannot transmit culture.

Some animals do communicate with one another. They can make sounds that warn against danger, or show anger or fear, but they cannot learn about what happened before they were born and they cannot imagine the future because they have no language.

Other animals learn most about their ways of living by copying or imitating their parents. Their lack of language limits them to learning only about what is happening at the present. These animals cannot teach their young about anything they haven't experienced themselves.

Only Man has Culture

Man is different from other animals because only man has language. Man is different from other animals in other ways too. Man is the smartest animal in the world. No other animal has the ability to think like man does. Man's ability to think comes from his brain. Man's brain is different from other animals' brains. Man has a larger brain for his size than any other animal. When the total size of the animal is considered, his brain weighs more than that of any other animal. Man has the ability to learn things that other animals cannot learn because of his brain.

One of the ways that man is different from other animals is that only man makes and uses tools skillfully. He can do this for two reasons; his brain provides the intelligence, and he has developed a hand with an opposable thumb that can grasp and hold things. Try holding a bat and hitting a ball without closing your thumbs around the handle. The thumb-finger grasp gives a firmer grip than a finger grasp. Try threading a needle without using your thumb. Much finer coordination is only possible from using the thumb and index finger together.

Man uses his ability to control things around him. He does not simply react to his environment, or things around him, like other animals do. Man discovers and invents things to control his environment. Man discovered certain fruits and vegetables that grew wild. He invented ways of improving these foods and of keeping insects off of them. He also invented ways of preserving the foods so he would have something to eat during the season when the crops do not grow.

Cultural Universals

All groups of men throughout the world have culture. This means that all groups have ways of living which they learn and pass on to the younger generation. This is true of traditional cultures as well as of modern cultures. Traditional cultures are those cultures which have not changed very much for hundreds or even thousands of years. Modern cultures are those which have changed very rapidly in the past hundred years. All groups, regardless of their way of living, have culture.

Cultural universals are those cultural needs that are found in every culture. Language is a cultural universal because all cultures have ways of communicating. Technology is a universal because all cultures have ways of making things. Economy is a universal because all cultures have ways of exchanging goods and services. Family is a universal because all cultures have families. Religion is a universal because all cultures believe in the supernatural. Value is a universal because all cultures have standards of right and wrong.

Cultural Trait Variations

Culture is made up of many different traits. A trait is an individual item of culture. An object used in a culture, such as a fork, is a trait. A way of behaving, such as holding the fork in the right hand, is also a trait.

Cultural needs found in cultures throughout the world are called universals and individual items of culture are called traits. Traits may be thought of as specific examples of a universal in a particular culture. Different cultures have different traits. These differences are called trait variations.

English and Spanish are language traits. Language is a cultural universal but language traits often vary from one culture to another. In other words, different languages are often spoken in different cultures. The primary language of the United States is English while the primary language of Mexico is Spanish.

Material Culture

Cultural traits can be divided into two groups; those belonging to the material culture and those belonging to the nonmaterial culture.

The term material culture is used to describe all of the traits of a culture that are man-made and that can be seen or touched. Man-made traits are called artifacts. Some artifacts that are part of the cultures of the United States and Mexico are hammers, plows, saws, chairs, tables, and guns.

Some cultures have more material traits than others. Cultures that have a high level of technology usually have the greatest number and variety of material traits. Technology is the way that things are made. A high level of technology means that machines are used to make many things and that energy such as gas, oil, coal and electricity is available to provide the power for the machines to make things.

The higher the level of technology, the more numerous and complex are the artifacts. A power ditch digger is an example of a complex artifact while a shovel is an example of a simple artifact. A culture that has a high level of technology can make more numerous and more complex artifacts. It has a rich material culture. A rich material culture is one that has a large number of artifacts as well as many complex artifacts.

Some cultures have a very small material culture. They have few artifacts because they have a low level of technology. That is, they do not have a great deal of energy for power and they do not have many complicated machines.

Nonmaterial Culture

Culture is made up of more than just material traits or artifacts. It is also made up of the way that people act. The way people act is called behavior. The way people behave is determined by what they believe. Every culture has certain beliefs about right and wrong. Beliefs are often called values. Nonmaterial culture is not made up of artifacts. Nonmaterial traits cannot be touched because they are ways of behaving rather than objects. Nonmaterial traits are just as important as material traits.

There are variations in the nonmaterial traits of cultures just as there are variations in the material traits. One universal is different in Mexico than it is in the United States. The present is the time that has the greatest value in the culture of Mexico. Finishing a conversation with an old friend may be more important to Mexicans than being on time for an appointment with a doctor. In the United States just the opposite is the custom. Most people in the United States would not stay and finish a conversation with the friend if they have an appointment to see a doctor. They would think that it is more important to be on time for the appointment. One custom is not better than the other. They are simply trait variations. One trait is acceptable in Mexico and the other is acceptable in the United States.

Conclusion

Culture is the way of life that people learn and pass on to the younger members of the group. Enculturation takes place as people learn their culture.

Only man has culture because only man has language and the ability to make things to control his environment.

Cultural universals are those needs that are found in all cultures throughout the world. Each culture is made up of different traits. Traits vary from culture to culture.

The material culture, consisting of artifacts, can be seen or touched. The nonmaterial culture consists of traits that cannot be seen or touched. Ideas, beliefs, and values are part of the nonmaterial culture.

Chapter II

CULTURAL CHANGE

Chapter Organizer

All cultures change. No culture remains the same. Old ways are replaced by new ways. Modernization is the rapid replacement of the old with the new.

There are four ways new things are brought into a culture to bring about cultural change. These four ways are discovery, invention, diffusion, and acculturation.

Discovery is finding out something already in existence but not known before. Finding gold in California in 1848 is called a discovery. The gold was in the streams and mountains of California but people did not know it was there.

An invention is the use of knowledge to make something new. The electric light bulb was an invention. Previous knowledge about the energy of electricity was applied to making a new way of lighting.

Diffusion is the process of a trait moving from one culture to another. The Navajo Indians use designs in silver which are found in Arabia. They were brought to Spain by Arabs and adopted by Spaniards. The Spaniards brought the designs with them to the Southwest where they were copied by Navajo silversmiths and became part of the Navajo culture.

Acculturation is the adoption of the traits of one culture by another culture as a result of contact between cultures. Frequently traits are shared, that is, both cultures adopt some of the other's traits. The Spanish invaders of Mexico brought their Spanish culture to the Indian land. Many Spanish and Indians came in contact with one another. Each culture adopted many of the traits of the other culture. From the Spanish, the Indians adopted the Roman Catholic religion and the Spanish language. From the Indians, the Spanish adopted many new foods and some Indian words.

The sharing of cultural traits between two cultures as a result of contact is not at the same rate. Usually the conquering culture has a more powerful government and forces more traits on the weaker culture than it adopts. This was true in Mexico, where the Spanish conquerors destroyed the Aztec government. The Spanish also had a higher level of technology in terms of iron tools and weapons.

All of the traits of a culture do not change at the same rate. Some traits change faster than others. Traits of a culture consist of two major types--material traits and nonmaterial traits. Material traits are things which can be touched and seen; nonmaterial traits are behaviors and beliefs. Material traits often change faster than nonmaterial traits. In Mexico, the Indians gave up their flint knives for steel knives before they gave up their Indian language for Spanish. Knives are material traits; language is a nonmaterial trait.

A culture is a stable way of behaving. If too many traits change in too short a period of time, cultural stability is lost. Cultural stability comes from knowing how to behave in a culture. This comes from people knowing what to expect from others, and what others expect from them. The Spanish conquest of Mexico destroyed the government and the religion of the Indians. It took years to create new systems in which Mexicans of Spanish and Indian origin could work together as Mexicans.

Cultures in both the United States and Mexico contain many such examples of cultural lag. Cultural lag happens when traits of a culture no longer fit or work together well. This happens when some traits change faster than others.

Acceleration of change is the speed up of change. It usually occurs when a culture has many traits. The more traits in a culture, the more likely it is that there will be new inventions and discoveries. The more inventions and discoveries there are, the more the culture will change. There was more diffusion and more invention in the United States than in Mexico, and thus the rate of change in the United States has been accelerated.

Planned change is the purposeful bringing about of change. There are many instances of planned change in Mexico and the United States. Mexico recently planned and completed a subway system for Mexico City. It was planned as a way to help solve the city's transportation problem.

All change is not welcomed, sometimes it is resisted. People do not always want change. In both Mexico and the United States there are people who resist new ways of doing things. Some people in these two countries will not use modern farm machinery like tractors.

In both Mexico and the United States there are parts of the cultures that are much like they were a hundred years ago. In Mexico, there are Indians who do not want to be like modern Mexicans. In the United States, there are places where people live like their ancestors lived in the early nineteenth century. But in both countries, most people want those changes which will bring them better housing, more food and clothing, and more chances to enjoy a higher standard of living.

CHAPTER II

CULTURAL CHANGE

Cultures Change

Cultures do not remain the same. They are continually changing. Some cultures change rapidly while others change slowly. Old ways of doing things are called traditional. A farmer in the United States or Mexico who still uses a hoe or a horse or mule drawn plow is farming in the traditional way.

New ways of doing things are called modern. A farmer in the United States or Mexico who uses a tractor, a mechanical plow, harrow, and harvester is farming in a modern way.

When a group of people change their way of living by using modern rather than traditional ways of doing things we say that their culture is modernizing. Modernization is taking place in cultures all over the world. Every culture in the world is using artifacts now that they did not use years ago. Every culture in the world has beliefs and behaviors that they did not have years ago.

This book is about how two nations are changing and are becoming more modern. It is about the processes of cultural change in Mexico and the United States.

Causes of Cultural Change

Section Organizer

There are four causes of cultural change. They are discovery, invention, diffusion, and acculturation. Discovery and invention are changes that come from within a culture. Diffusion and acculturation are changes that are from outside the culture.

Discovery is finding out something that already exists but that is not known. It is an addition to knowledge. The discovery of gold in Mexico and the United States caused changes in the cultures of the two countries.

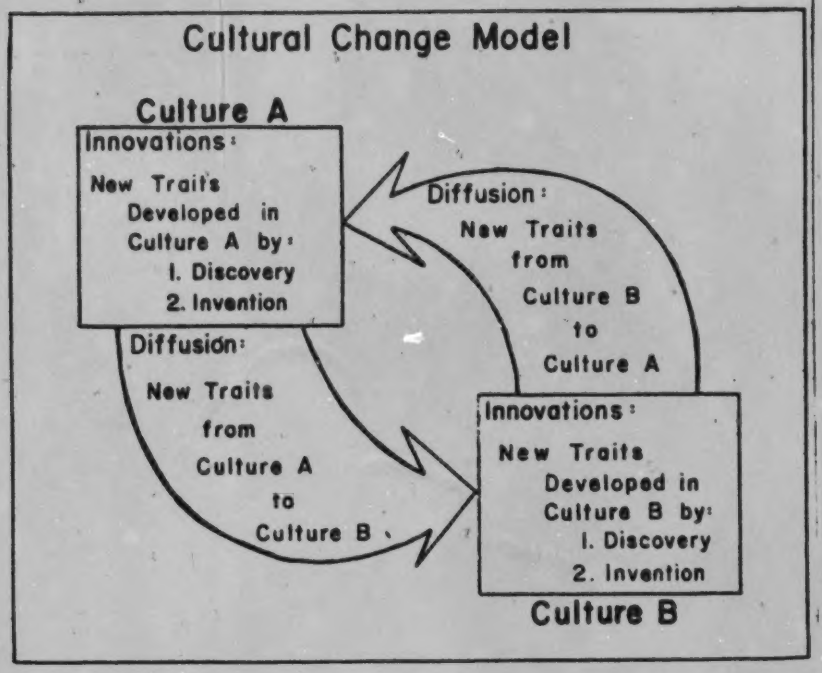
Invention is the new use of knowledge. It is the combination of two or more cultural traits into something new. The electric light bulb, which was invented in the United States, is a combination of knowledge about electricity and about the ability of wire to conduct electricity. The Mayan Indian calendar, which was invented in Mexico, was a result of combining a knowledge of numbers and astronomy.

Cultural change results from invention more than it does from discovery.

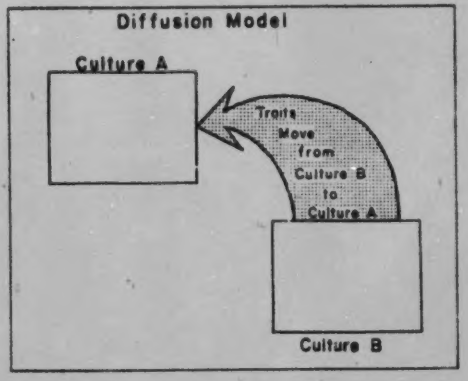
Diffusion is the process of a trait moving from one culture to another. Many Mexican food traits have diffused to the United States. Many United States automobile traits have diffused to Mexico.

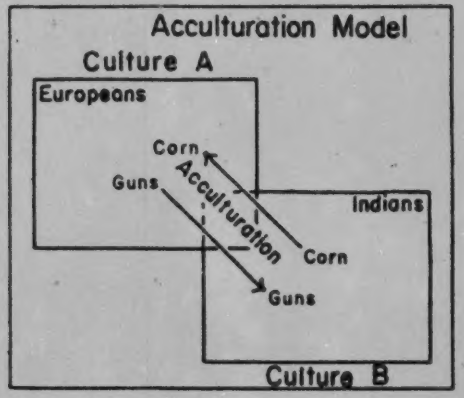
Diffusion between cultures that have close contact over a long period of time is called acculturation. A great deal of acculturation took place between the Indian and Spanish cultures in Mexico. Very little acculturation took place between the Indian and English cultures in the United States.

TABLE 1



From: Clawson, E.U. and Rice, M.J. The changing world today; Japan, Kenya, and India. Athens, GA: Anthropology Curriculum Project, 1972, pp.4-6.





Causes of Cultural Change

There are four causes of cultural change. They are discovery, invention, diffusion, and acculturation. Discovery and invention are changes that come from within a culture.

Discovery

Discovery is finding out something already in existence but not known before. It is an addition to knowledge. The Indians of Mexico discovered gold in the mountains and streams of the northern part of the country. The gold had always been there but its presence was unknown to the culture until it was discovered by them. Gold was also discovered in several places in the United States. California and Georgia are two states in which gold was discovered. As in Mexico, the gold had always been there but its presence was unknown to the culture until it was found or discovered.

The discovery of gold in Mexico and in the United States contributed to cultural change in the two countries. It encouraged the Spanish to settle in Mexico and to conquer the Indians so they could get the gold. It encouraged thousands of people in the United States to rush to California in 1849 to get gold. Many of these people stayed there and settled permanently. This led to statehood a short time later.

Invention

Invention is the new use of knowledge. It is the combination of two or more cultural traits into something new. An automobile is an invention because two traits, the four-wheeled carriage and the internal combustion engine, were combined to make something new. The invention of the automobile changed the culture of the United States. Many new industries have been created to make automobile parts, to repair automoblies, and to provide automobile insurance. The invention of the automobile may have changed the culture of the United States as much as any other invention.

Long ago the Mayan Indians of Mexico combined their knowledge of numbers and astronomy and invented a calendar that was in some ways superior to the calendar being used in Europe at that time. This invention changed the Mayan culture. The people used the calendar to decide when to plant and harvest crops.

Thomas Edison, one of America's best known inventors, used his knowledge about the energy of electricity and of the ability of wire to conduct electricity to invent the electric light bulb. The invention of the electric light bulb changed the culture of the United States. Electric lights gave off more light than the gas lights that were being used at that time and were safer than gas lights. Many people began using electric lights in their homes and businesses.

There are several factors which help bring about discoveries and inventions in a culture. Trait inventory, education, and demand are three of these factors. Inventory refers to the amount of traits in a culture. Some cultures have larger trait inventories than others.

More inventions come from cultures with many traits than from cultures with few traits. The more traits a culture has, the greater the chances of them being combined into new inventions. More inventions come from the United States than from Mexico because the culture of the United States has more traits to combine. Another reason that there are more inventions in the United States than in Mexico is due to the higher level of education. More people attend school in the United States than in Mexico and they go to school for a greater number of years. As the United States and Mexico both increase the numbers of their traits and improve and expand their educational systems more and more inventions will come from the two cultures.

Inventions are not limited to the material culture. Some inventions are part of the nonmaterial culture. Social security was an invention in the nonmaterial culture of the United States. It is a way of paying retirement and survivors benefits.

Nonmaterial inventions are often not welcomed by many people in a culture. Many people were opposed to social security when it was first introduced to the culture of the United States. Employers did not want to pay a percent of the employee's salary for retirement benefits, and employees did not want to have money taken from their pay check as their contribution.

Social security became an accepted trait because of the demand for a way of providing income for retired workers and their dependents. Demand refers to the desire of the people to have a trait.

The *ejido* system of land ownership was an invention in the nonmaterial culture of Mexico. It was a plan to take much of the land away from the rich who owned it and divide it among the many poor people who were landless. It was not a completely new invention because it was an adaptation of the system of land ownership that the Indians had used before the Spanish came to Mexico. Under the *ejido* system the land is owned by the government but the people may use it. Many wealthy landowners in Mexico opposed this invention.

More cultural change takes place as a result of invention than of discovery. But neither invention nor discovery are the major causes of cultural change. Most changes come from other cultures rather than from within the culture. Many traits in the cultures of the United States and Mexico came from other countries. Both the United States and Mexico use glass that was invented in Egypt, silk from China, cotton from India, and the cotton jenny and loom from England. These are only a few of the many traits that are common in both the United States and Mexico that came from other countries.

Cultures that are isolated from others change very slowly because they have little contact with others and their changes come only from discovery and invention. Very few cultures are isolated in the world today. Most cultures have contact with others and changes occur as a result of these contacts. Cultural change as a result of contact with other cultures can take two forms--diffusion and acculturation.

Diffusion

Diffusion is the process of a trait moving from one culture to another. Diffusion often takes place when there is trade between cultures. Many traits from the United States have diffused to Mexico. Automobiles, soft drinks, and appliances made in the United States are now part of the culture of Mexico as a result of diffusion.

Many cultural traits of Mexico are also part of the culture of the United States as a result of diffusion. Mexican foods such as tacos, tortillas, and enchiladas and Mexican art work such as silverwork, leatherwork, and pottery are popular in the United States.

Diffusion also takes place from trade, war, intermarriage, travelers, newspapers, radio, television, and motion pictures.

Often diffusion takes place in both directions when two cultures come into contact. They each adopt some of the traits of the other culture. When Kit Carson and other mountainmen came into contact with Indians in the United States over one hundred years ago diffusion took place. The mountainmen traded steel knives to the Indians in return for furs. As a result, steel knives became a trait in the Indian culture and the wearing of furs became a trait in the culture of the mountainmen.

Cultures seldom adopt all of the traits of another culture. Instead, they select some for adoption and reject others. The Indians of the southwestern United States adopted the use of the horse from the Spanish but did not adopt the use of the saddle. Some of the Indians of Mexico adopted the plow and other tools of the Spanish but did not adopt many of the Spanish crops.

As traits diffuse from one culture to another they often change in some way. Some of the traits of the Spanish culture which diffused to Mexico were the use of religious paintings and statues in the churches. The church paintings and statues in Mexico are different from those found in the churches of Spain. The skin color and features of Christ and the saints in Mexican art work makes them look Indian. Even some of the crucifixes are made to resemble corn husks. These changes in Spanish art traits occurred when the Indians interpreted Spanish religious art.

Diffusion is not limited to the sharing of traits between two cultures that have contact with one another. Sometimes traits diffuse around the world. The use of tobacco is such a trait. Tobacco was first used by the Indians of America. Its use diffused to Europe and then to Asia. From there it diffused to the Eskimo cultures of

North America. The diffusion of tobacco from the American Indians to the Eskimos was not a result of direct contact between those cultures. It was a result of contact between many cultures.

Acculturation

When cultural contact occurs over a long period of time, the process of traits transferring from one culture to another is called acculturation. Acculturation took place between the Spanish and the Indians of Mexico. The cultures maintained close contact with each other over a long period of time. Many traits diffused from one culture to the other. Each group maintained many of its previous ways of living but adopted many of the other group's ways too. Some of the Spanish traits that are part of the culture of Mexico today are the Roman Catholic religion, the Spanish language, the use of domestic animals for farming, and the physical layout of villages. Some Indian traits that are part of the culture of Mexico today are types of common food, artwork, some house types, and many farming practices.

Limited acculturation also took place between the early colonists of Jamestown, Virginia and the Indians led by Chief Powhatan. These two cultures had close contact over a long period of time. The colonists adopted many of the traits of the Indian culture in order to keep from starving and freezing to death. They learned to plant corn from the Indians. They also learned to build huts that would keep out the snow and some of the cold. The Indians adopted many of the traits of the English colonists. They learned to use guns, iron cooking pots, and other iron implements such as the iron tomahawk.

Acculturation does not take place merely becauses cultures occupy the same territory, and people of different cultures come in contact with each other. Some religious groups in the United States, such as the Amish and the Mennonites, maintain their own beliefs and customs even though they have close contact with people of the dominant American culture.

Old Amish use the horse and buggy rather than automobiles and they dress in a style that is traditional for their group. They make selective rather than wide use of electricity, machinery, and other traits that are used extensively in the dominant culture of the United

States. The Amish and Mennonites maintain their cultural identity by rejecting the culture of the majority, and by selecting only those traits which can be made a part of their way of life.

There are some examples of cultural contact without acculturation in Mexico, too. Some Indian communities maintain their own language, dress, beliefs, and other ways that are different from those of the dominant culture of Mexico. An example is a group of Mixtec Indians who live in Santo Domingo *barrio* in the town of Juxtlahuaca in the state of Oaxaca, Mexico. The group has maintained its own culture and has not been acculturated into the dominant culture of Mexico. These Indians speak the native Indian language, Mixteco, rather than Spanish unless they are dealing with merchants, priests, and other townspeople outside their cultural group.

The men continue to wear white cotton, long sleeved, collarless shirts that are homemade and trousers that reach to midcalf where they are tied. At the top, the trousers are secured at the waist by wrapping and tying at the back. They wear leather sandals called *huaraches* on their feet and sombreros on their heads. The women wear white cotton blouses and printed cotton skirts which reach almost to the ground. They cover their heads and shoulders with dark blue cotton shawls called *rebozos*. Most Mixtec Indian women in the *barrio* wear shoes.

When these people are sick they prefer to go to one of the local curers rather than to a professionally trained doctor. They believe that illness is caused by evil spirits.

Cultural Stability and Cultural Lag

Section Organizer

Cultural stability occurs when people know what is expected of them in their culture. The more a culture stays the same, the more stable it is. Mexico and the United States became less stable after the Europeans arrived. Both cultures are now changing rapidly and many people do not know what behavior is expected of them. When people in Mexico and the United States move or change jobs, cultural stability is decreased.

Cultural lag is the lack of fit among traits. All of the parts of a culture do not change at the same rate. When some traits change more rapidly than others, cultural lag results. An example of cultural lag is today's concern with pollution. In the United States--and other industrial countries--people became concerned about pollution caused by industrial waste long after the country had industrialized.

Cultural Stability and Cultural Lag

Cultural Stability

Culture is the way of life of a group of people. The more the culture stays the same, the easier it is for people to do what is expected of them. When people know what is expected of them in their culture, cultural stability results. Cultures must have some stability or they cannot survive. The more a culture stays the same, the more stable it is.

In a stable culture the people use the same type of tools, hold the same jobs, live in the same houses, and have the same incomes for a long time. In a stable culture many things remain the same for long periods of time. Traits change slowly in a stable culture.

In Mexico, for example, the way of life of the Indians was much the same for hundreds of years until the Spanish arrived in that country. Food, houses, religion, and language are a few of the traits that changed slowly before the time of the Spanish conquest.

The most stable cultures in the world are those that have little contact with other cultures. They change only through discovery and invention because there is no diffusion or acculturation without contact with other cultures.

After the Europeans arrived in Mexico and the United States, the Indian cultures became much less stable. A great deal of cultural change occurred in a very short period of time.

Rapid cultural change reduces cultural stability. As many new material and nonmaterial traits are introduced within a short period of time people no longer know exactly what is expected of them.

Modern countries, such as Mexico and the United States, are not isolated from other cultures. As a result, their cultures are not as stable as were the former Indial cultures.

Cultural change is taking place rapidly in Mexico and in the United States. Everyday new traits are introduced into both cultures. Advertisements in newspapers and magazines and commercials on television and radio encourage people to adopt the new traits. They suggest that the old traits are not modern; that they are old fashioned or obsolete. Some of the new material traits that people are encouraged to adopt are new cars, new appliances, new cameras, new toys, and even new breakfast cereals.

Change in material traits is not the only kind of cultural change taking place in Mexico and the United States. Nonmaterial traits are changing too. Many people in these two countries are changing jobs. Many Mexicans who were farmers are leaving that occupation and are becoming factory workers or office workers in the cities. Many people in the United States are moving out of jobs in factories that produce goods. They are taking jobs that provide services. Some of these people become salesmen, social workers, and urban planners.

In Mexico many people are moving from their homes on farms and in small villages to homes and apartments in the cities. When they move to the cities they often have less contact with their relatives and friends. Many people move frequently in the United States too. They also leave their friends and relatives behind.

When people move to new places they often [illegible] to adjust to new ways of life. At first they do not know what is expected of them and this causes instability.

Cultural instability can be caused by an increasing number of goods that become available to the people in a culture. These goods become new cultural traits and the people have to learn to adjust to them. Some traits that are now common in Mexico and in the United States that were not common many years ago are automatic washing machines, electric sewing machines, wrist watches, and television sets. The people of Mexico and the United States must adjust to these and to many other inventions that are changing the cultures. These rapid changes contribute to cultural instability.

Cultural Lag

Cultural lag is the lack of fit among traits. All of the parts of a culture do not change at the same time or at the same rate. Some traits change more rapidly than others. When this happens, some parts of the culture no longer fit or work well together. Many problems in a culture come from cultural lag.

Cultural lag is common in all modern cultures. For a long time many people in the United States have thought that it is good to have more and more factories that make more and more tools, equipment, and appliances to do work for man.

Until very recently most Americans have not been concerned about the waste from these factories that causes air and water pollution. The rapid growth of factories was a change in part of the culture. As the waste from the factories became apparent to the people, they had to change their beliefs about what should be done with it. Many people began believing that factories should not continue producing goods without concern for the waste products that cause environmental pollution.

The following is an example of cultural lag in Mexico. For several hundred years most of the people in Mexico worked on farms. Although they worked hard they set their own work speed and decided for themselves what time they would begin work in the morning and when they would quit in the afternoon. As more people became factory workers, they were expected to work at a speed that was set by the manager. They were also expected to be at work at a certain time in the morning and stay until a certain time in the afternoon.

The change from farming to factory work required the Mexicans to change their beliefs about the speed and hours they should work. Many workers did not arrive at work at the time that their employer expected them. Many did not do as much work as their employer wanted. They were accustomed to going to work on their farms when they wanted to or when they knew they had to in order to get as much work done as they felt was necessary. This was very different from the way they were expected to act when they worked in a factory. There was a cultural lag until the workers adjusted to the new ways that they were expected to behave as factory workers.

Acceleration of Change, Planned Change, and Resistance to Change

Section Organizer

Acceleration means to speed up. Cultural change is accelerating in Mexico and the United States. This acceleration of change results from increased trait inventories which are largely a result of diffusion. Material traits are changing more rapidly in Mexico and the United States than nonmaterial traits. Material trait changes often lead to changes in nonmaterial traits. The invention and diffusion of the radio, which is a material trait, has influenced people's opinions, which is a nonmaterial trait.

Planned change is man's deliberate effort to control his culture. One of the largest planned change programs in Mexico is one of increasing the amount of irrigated land. One of the largest planned change programs in the United States was brought about by the Tennessee Valley Authority. Change agents are people who work to bring about change.

Resistance to change is found in all cultures. Many people do not want to change because of habit. People sometimes believe that the old way of doing things is better than a new way. People resist change if they believe that it will cost them money or make them less important. Many wealthy landowners in Mexico resisted when the Mexican government took away part of their land and divided it into small farms for the landless.

Change is sometimes resisted if it is difficult to find a new way of doing things to replace the old way. Change is also resisted because of bad results from using a new way the first time it was tried.

One reason people resist change is because of linked change. They fear that one change will lead to other changes that they do not want.

Acceleration of Change

Acceleration means to speed up. When the driver of a car presses his foot on the accelerator, the car speeds up. Some things accelerate or speed up changes in culture. Most of a culture's new traits come from diffusion. As a culture gets more traits through diffusion and from discovery, invention, and acculturation, cultural change accelerates.

The United States and Mexico both have more material traits now than they did 100 years ago, or 10 years ago, or even 1 year ago. As a result, more discoveries, inventions, diffusion, and acculturation are taking place in these two countries than ever before. Scientists in both countries are discovering new cures for disease, inventing new tools, machines, and ways of doing things.

Both countries are adopting an increasing number of traits from other countries as a result of accelerated diffusion. Both countries are acculturating people into their dominant cultures more quickly now than ever before.

Changes usually occur in the material traits of a culture before they occur in the nonmaterial part of the culture. People are usually more receptive to material culture change than to nonmaterial culture change. People are usually more willing to buy a new automobile or a new sewing machine than to change their religion or their ideas about right and wrong. Accepting new material traits does not always mean that ideas or values must be changed. People are more accustomed to changing material traits than nonmaterial traits.

Material changes do not take place alone, however. They frequently lead to changes in the nonmaterial culture. The discovery of electricity and the many inventions that operate on electricity have changed the nonmaterial cultures of the United States and Mexico as well as the material cultures. Radio and television both use electricity and the programs have a great affect on what people think, believe, and feel. Much of the information that the people receive about their country and about the world comes from radio and television. These media influence people's opinions about family life, health, child training, recreation, transportation, travel, and the use of farm, office, and factory equipment in Mexico. This is only one example of how a change in the material culture causes changes in the nonmatherial culture.

Planned Change

Some changes are planned and others are accidental. Planned change is purposeful. It is man's effort to control his culture.

The government of Mexico has planned many changes for its country. One of the biggest planned changes in Mexico was the government's plan to increase the amount of irrigated land so that more crops could be raised. In the past 30 years many large dams have been planned and built by the Mexican government. The dams hold enough water so that thousands of acres of formerly dry land now have enough water for agriculture. Between 1940 and 1965 the number of acres under irrigation rose from 390,261 to 8,896,911. In addition, the dams produce electricity for the people of Mexico. Between 1940 and 1965 the electrical capacity of Mexico rose from 543,000 to 2,470,000 kilowatt-hours.

One of the largest planned change projects in the world was a dam building project. It is the Tennessee Valley Authority in the United States. It was a plan to develop the resources of the Tennessee Valley. Dams were built to prevent floods, conserve soil, and provide electricity.

Planned change is taking place in the cities of Mexico and the United States as well as in rural areas. Cities in both countries have problems transporting people from one part of the city to another by automobile. Streets and highways cannot be built fast enough for all of the cars. Parking lots are inadequate. Exhaust from automobiles contributes to air pollution.

The construction of rapid transit systems are being planned to reduce the problems caused by the automobile. Mexico City has a new rapid transit subway system that is considered to be one of the most beautiful in the world. San Francisco and Atlanta are building rapid transit systems too.

One of the most important parts of planned change is that of making people aware of a need for the change. The people in Atlanta and San Francisco had to believe that

rapid transit is better than having more cars in their cities before they would agree to the change. The people learned about the plan from television, newspapers, and public meetings.

People who work to bring about change are called change agents. Farm agents, city planners, and Peace Corps workers are all change agents. Many government officials in education, health, and welfare, to mention a few, work as change agents.

Examples of planned change in the Americas begin with the Indians. The Aztecs built several causeways complete with drawbridges from their mainland to their island city, Tenochtitlan. These causeways were planned to make it easier to travel between the mainland and the city. The drawbridges were planned to keep out enemies.

The Spanish government planned many of the developments in Mexico. Cities and villages were usually planned. The sites were selected, the streets and plazas laid out, the churches and government offices located, and lands allotted to fields for farming. This was planned change and the Spaniards who directed the change were the change agents.

There are several ways that change agents work. In situations where unplanned change is occurring and cannot be stopped, change agents try to eliminate problems that might result from the change.

One unplanned change that is taking place in Mexico and the United States is the increase in the number of people moving to large cities like Mexico City and Los Angeles. Change agents are not attempting to stop people from moving from the farms to the city. Instead, they are attempting to reduce the overcrowding that occurs when so many people move to the city in such a short period of time. In a recent 14 year period change agents working for the Mexican government were able to get 176,596 new houses built in Mexico City.

Change agents are also working in the United States to help avoid problems that come with change. One of the changes taking place in the United States is the increase of air pollution caused by automobiles. Change agents

probably cannot reduce the number of cars, but they are trying to reduce the pollution caused by cars. As a result of the work of change agents, many gasoline companies are making low lead and no lead gasoline that is supposed to cause less air pollution than the gasoline already in use. Change agents are also trying to get people to buy this new gasoline rather than the older type that causes air pollution.

Another way that change agents work is to speed up changes thought to be good. Mexican change agents worked to speed up educational change. Some villages in Mexico built schools and hired teachers, but many other villages could not afford schools and teachers. The Mexican government wanted all villages to have schools. Change agents in Mexico have supervised the spending of $400 million in the past 14 years to train teachers and to build schools in villages.

A third way that change agents work is to decide what changes need to be made and then to direct the change. Change agents did this when the Tennessee Valley Authority dams were being built. They decided that many farmers and others would have to move because the water that was to form lakes behind the dams was going to cover farms and towns. Change agents helped the people find new farms and homes.

In Mexico the government has been dividing up large ranches, farms, and mines and giving the land to the people who have no land. Change agents have helped plan this change and have helped people make the change.

Resistance to Change

Even though the cultures of Mexico and the United States are changing quite rapidly, most people prefer not to change very much. People resist change. They prefer to continue living the same way that they have been living. Resistance to change can be found in all cultures. Nonmaterial changes are resisted more than material changes.

One reason that people do not like to change is because of their habits. People feel comfortable doing things the same way that they have been doing them for a long period of time. A habit is a familiar way of doing something.

Many farmers in the Tennessee Valley resisted the building of dams. Farmers knew that they would have to change many of their habits. They would have to change homes, neighbors, and even where they shopped because their farms and stores would be under water.

Many farmers in Mexico also resisted the building of dams in their country. They knew that they would have to change their habits too. They would have to change homes and neighbors.

Conservatism is another cause of resistance to change. Conservatism is a wish to keep things the way they are. People who are conservative do not like to change because they believe that the old way of doing something is better than new ways. This reverence for the past can be recognized when people talk about "the good old days."

The production of artwork can serve as an example of resistance to change. Mexican artisans are world famous for their pottery making and beautiful weaving. Mexican artwork has become very popular in the United States. Some Mexican artisans began making pots or weaving material very quickly so that they could sell more of their products to earn more money. Others realized that the quality of the pieces of art that were produced so quickly was not as good as the quality of the work that had been done more carefully. Some of these artisans resisted the change. They believed that their artwork should be created more slowly so that they would be of high quality. They refused to create works of art that were not of high quality. They continued to work slowly and carefully as they had for years so that their pieces would continue to be beautiful. They believed that beauty and pride in workmanship was more important than creating many objects of lower quality.

Some people resist change because they have a vested interest. They feel that if things change they would be worse off than they are now. Their job might not be considered to be as important or they might not have as good an income or as much prestige.

About 70 years ago a new way of aiming the guns on navy ships was invented. This new continuous aim firing was much better than the old way of firing the guns. When a young naval officer suggested that the continuous aim firing be adopted by the navy his suggestion was ignored. The high ranking officers in the navy who were responsible for deciding the type of aiming device to be used did not like the idea of a young low ranking officer criticising their decisions. They believed that they were the experts and felt that their status was being threatened. It was not until the President of the United States heard about the situation that the navy finally agreed to change the type of aiming device to improve the accuracy of naval gunfire.

An example of resistance to change because of a vested interest can be seen in Mexico, too. When the Mexican government decided to take away large areas of land from the rich hacienda owners and give it to the poor people, the landowners were against this change. They knew that they would lose land, income, and prestige because of the change.

Another reason for resistance to change is that it is sometimes difficult to find a new way to replace the old way. Many years ago, when Mexico still belonged to Spain, the priests were able to get a law passed to protect the rights of the Indians who worked in the mines and on the haciendas. The new law required the landowner to limit the number of hours a day and the number of days a week that the Indians would work. The new law did not work very well. The landowners claimed they could not find a new way to shorten the time of work and still get the work done. As a result, they did not obey the new law. They continued to work the Indians the same as they had in the past.

It has been difficult to find new ways to replace old ways in the United States as well as in Mexico. In recent years many people have been demanding that air pollution be stopped. Hydrocarbons from the exhaust of automobiles are a major cause of air pollution. Scientists are working to try to reduce the air pollution caused by automobiles.

They have not yet found a good way to do this with most of the cars on the road today. One of the inventions that is supposed to cut down on air pollution from automobiles is low lead gasoline. But low lead gasoline does not work well in many automobiles so many people resist using it.

Some people resist change because they tried something once and it didn't work. This is called resistance to change because of bad results of a first trial. When much of Mexico's land was divided among the poor, many of these new farmers joined together in cooperatives. Each farmer who belonged to the cooperative took his corn crop to the village where it was stored in silos until it was time to sell it. Unfortunately, some of the men who kept records of each farmer's corn cheated the farmers and took more money for themselves. Because many farmers could not read or write they could not catch the men who were cheating them. As a result, many farmers decided not to remain members of the cooperatives because they did not want to be cheated. Later, when honest men were put in charge of the records, the farmers would not rejoin the cooperatives because of their first bad experience with them.

In the United States change has also been resisted because of bad results of a first trial. The United States government has spent millions of dollars to help poor people improve their homes and their health, find jobs, and have good schools. When it was discovered that much of the money was spent by government officials on their own salaries and offices and not on the poor, many people turned against programs to help the poor. They felt that the results of the first trial were bad.

One of the most important reasons why people resist change is that they are afraid of linked change. It is impossible for only one trait in a culture to change. One change always causes others. This process is called linked change. People may be against a change even though they do not actually object to that particular change. They are against it because they fear that the one change will cause other changes that they do not want.

Many people who oppose the use of federal government tax money for schools are afraid of linked change. They do not object to the federal government providing money for schools, but they are afraid that the government will begin to tell the schools what subjects must be taught. They think that the first change, federal money for schools, will lead to a second change, federal control of schools. For this reason they do not want the federal government to provide money for schools.

Fear of linked change can be seen in Mexico, too. Many Mexicans do not want foreigners to build factories in Mexico. They do not object to the factories but they feel that the foreign owners would try to control the Mexican government. They think that the government would pass laws that would help the foreign factory owners rather than the Mexican people who live there and who work in the factories. They are afraid that the first change, foreign factories, would lead to a second change, foreign influence on the Mexican government.

Conclusion

This chapter has described cultural change. Most cultural change is the result of diffusion. Discovery, invention, and acculturation also cause cultural change. These causes of cultural change have been illustrated with examples from Mexico and the United States. In the rest of this book, cultural change in Mexico and in the United States will be described in even greater detail.

Chapter III

THE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF MEXICO AND THE UNITED STATES

Chapter Organizer

Heritage is the transmission of a culture. Mexico and the United States have different heritages. Mexico's heritage comes from Spanish and Mexican Indian cultures. It is a result of acculturation between people of the Spanish and Indian cultures. Acculturation is the sharing of traits caused by contact between two cultures over a long period of time. Mexico reflects its Spanish and Indian heritages in its foods, house types, language, religion, and systems of land ownership.

The United States' heritage comes mainly from the English culture. It is not a result of acculturation between English and Indian cultures. Language, house types, and foods reflect the English heritage.

A large number of Indians lived in Mexico at the time of the Spanish conquest. They adopted many of the Spanish traits because the Spanish had a higher level of technology. Another main cause of acculturation in Mexico was intermarriage between Spanish men and Indian women. Most Mexicans are of mixed Spanish and Indian parentage. They are called *mestizos*.

The Indian heritage has had a greater influence on the culture of southern Mexico. Here there was a dense Indian population. The Spanish heritage has had a greater influence in northern Mexico, where the Indian population was sparse.

There was little acculturation between English colonists and Eastern Woodland Indians in the United States. The Indian population was small; there was little intermarriage; the Indians could not be made to work for the colonists; and there was little planned effort to convert the Indians to Christianity. The English heritage is dominant throughout the entire United States, although some Spanish and Indian influences are evident, mainly in the Southwest.

CHAPTER III

THE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF MEXICO AND THE UNITED STATES

Heritage

Culture is the way of life of a group of people. Heritage is the history of a culture. Mexico and the United States have different cultural heritages.

Spanish and Indian Heritage of Mexico

Mexico has a Spanish and Indian heritage. The culture of modern Mexico is a result of acculturation between people of the Spanish and Indian cultures. Acculturation is the sharing of traits caused by contact between two cultures over a long period of time.

Many of the cultural traits of modern Mexico are no longer completely Spanish or completely Indian; they reflect both cultures. This can be seen in the food traits of Mexico. Some of the food traits from the Spanish heritage are onions, cabbage, radishes, turnips, sugar cane, bananas, and citrus fruits. Some of the food traits from the Indian heritage are corn, tomatoes, potatoes, beans, squash, pineapples, and cocoa.

The house traits of Mexico show both Spanish and Indian origins. An example of a Spanish house is the one-story, rectangular house of whitewashed adobe walls with gabled roofs of hollow tile. One type of Indian house is square or rectangular with stone walls and steep roofs thatched with dried grass.

The Spanish and Indian heritages can also be seen in Mexico's language, religion, and systems of land ownership. These and other traits of Mexico will be discussed in detail in later chapters of this book and many changes in the traits will be described.

English Heritage of the United States

The United States heritage is mainly English. There was little acculturation between English colonists and Eastern Woodland Indians. As a result, English influence in the culture of the United States is dominant and the Indian influence slight.

The English heritage can be seen in the house traits of the United States. The first houses in the Jamestown colony were similar to those that were lived in by poor people in England for hundreds of years. Their walls were made of vertical wooden stakes set a few inches apart. Willow or hazel branches were woven in and out horizontally and both sides of these walls were plastered with mud. The roofs were of thatched dried grass and were supported by forked posts.

Clapboard houses, which were popular in England, have been widely used in the United States. Clapboards are wedge shaped pieces of lumber that are overlapped on the walls of houses to keep out bad weather.

Wealthy people in the United States built Georgian style houses like those in England. They had steep roofs, a door in the middle, and the same number of windows on either side of the door. Most were two and three stories high, two rooms deep, and were built of brick. Even today, Georgian style houses are considered desirable by many people in the United States.

The English heritage can also be seen in the food traits of the United States. Grains such as wheat and rye, many types of vegetables, and several seed and stone fruits are part of the English heritage. Although acculturation between the English colonists and the Indians was very limited, some food traits are Indian. Corn is the most common Indian food trait. Squash is another.

The English heritage can also be seen in the language, religion, and the system of land ownership in the United States. These and other traits of the United States will be discussed in detail in later chapters of this book.

Acculturation in Mexico

The dense Indian population of Mexico has been a major factor in Spanish-Indian acculturation. There may have been as many as 15 million Indians living in Mexico when the Spanish conquered the country. From 1 to 2 million lived in the Valley of Mexico. This large Indian population could not move out of the way of the Spanish. They had to be made part of the Spanish colonial system. They were forced to adopt many Spanish cultural traits. The Indians adopted Spanish traits because the Spanish conquest destroyed the Indian pattern of culture. The Spanish had a superior technology. They had guns, wheeled carts, iron tools, and domesticated animals. The Indians did not have these traits.

Similarity of cultural traits helped Spanish and Indian acculturation. One similarity had to do with paying taxes. Before the Spanish came to Mexico the Indians paid tribute to the Aztec rulers. In Spain, the people paid taxes to the King. After the Spanish conquest of Mexico, the Indians paid tribute to the Spanish rather than to the Aztecs. The tax paying trait itself did not change. Only the government who received the taxes changed.

Another similarity which encouraged cultural stability in Mexico had to do with the agricultural traditions. The Mexican Indians were agriculturalists. Many were accustomed to farming in a dry country. The Spanish were also accustomed to farming in a relatively dry country. The Indians acquired new crops from the Spanish, and the Spanish acquired new crops from the Indians.

The Spanish and Indian cultures also had similar settlement patterns. Most of the people in both countries lived in fixed settlements. With the exception of a few tribes in northern Mexico, the Indians were not nomadic. This, too, did not change when the Spanish gained control of Mexico. The people continued to live in fixed settlements.

Spanish and Indian influences are not the same throughout modern Mexico. The southern part of the country had a dense Indian population. A dense population maintains cultural traits better than a sparse population.

These Indians maintained many of the traits of their Indian cultures. Even today the way of life in southern Mexico is more Indian than it is Spanish.

Northern Mexico has more of a Spanish heritage. The northern part of the country had a sparse, nomadic Indian population. Most of these Indians were killed or driven out. As the Spanish settled this part of the country they brought traits of their culture. It was more difficult for the small number of Indians remaining in northern Mexico to resist adopting the Spanish traits than it was for the large number of Indians in southern Mexico.

Intermarriage of people from different cultures is a major cause of acculturation. Most of the early Spanish migrants to Mexico were single men. Many Spanish men married Indian women. Their children grew up with a parent from the Spanish culture and a parent from the Indian culture. These children learned both Spanish and Indian cultural ways. They were the first *mestizos*. Most people in Mexico today are *mestizos*.

Acculturation also took place as a result of work and religious conversion. The Spanish forced the Indians to work on their ranches and farms, and in their mines. Spanish religious orders systematically converted Indians to the Roman Catholic religion. Under their supervision, Indians built beautiful churches and monasteries. More will be said about the Spanish and Indian heritage of Mexico in later chapters of this book.

Dominance of English Traits in the United States Culture

There was little acculturation between the English colonists and the Eastern Woodland Indians in the United States. One of the reasons for this was that less than one million Indians lived in the entire country when the English first arrived. Of these, only an estimated 17,000 lived east of the Appalachian Mountains where the English colony of Virginia was founded. Because the Indian population of the United States was much smaller than that of Mexico, English-Indian contacts were much more limited than Spanish-Indian contacts had been in Mexico.

As the number of colonists increased, the Indians moved out of their way after losing battles to the more powerful English. There was very little intermarriage between the English and the Indians and the few attempts to force the Indians to work for the English failed. Finally, only limited efforts were made to convert the Indians to the English protestant religion. All of this was quite different from the great amount of contact that took place between the Spanish and the Indians in Mexico.

Throughout the entire United States the English heritage is dominant, even though some Indian food traits as well as the Indian practice of smoking tobacco were adopted. Even in the southwestern part of the United States, where the Spanish heritage is evident, the English heritage is stronger. More will be said about the heritage of the United States in later chapters of this book.

Conclusion

The culture of modern Mexico has its heritage in two cultures; Spanish and Indian. Acculturation between these two cultures led to the Mexican culture of today.

The culture of modern United States has its heritage in the culture of England. Very few Indians lived in the United States compared with the number who lived in Mexico when the Europeans arrived in the New World. Acculturation was slight between the English and the Indians.

CHAPTER IV

CHANGES IN THE LANGUAGE TRAITS OF MEXICO AND THE UNITED STATES

Chapter Organizer

Language is an important part of culture because it is through language that people learn their culture. In Mexico, most people learn their culture through the Spanish language. In the United States, most people learn their culture through the English language.

Languages change. The language in Mexico has changed from Indian to Spanish. Indian languages are spoken in only a few areas of Mexico today. The Spanish spoken in Mexico is different from the Spanish that is spoken in Spain. The differences are caused by the influence of the Indian languages in Mexico.

In the United States English became the major language. The English language has been learned by many immigrants to the United States and by almost all of their children. In the southwestern part of the United States a large number of people speak Spanish because of their heritage from Mexico. Indian languages are spoken by a small percent of the population in the United States.

There is no one standard form of English in the United States. There are many variations in the way the language is spoken in different parts of the country. These are called regional variations. Languages change as a result of new inventions and discoveries; by borrowing words from other languages; by changes in pronunciation; and by changes in word meaning.

Language unites people who speak a common language; it separates people who speak different languages. In northern Mexico and the southwestern United States people from two different speech communities come into contact. Bilingualism, the ability to communicate effectively in two languages, Spanish and English, contributes to cultural understanding.

CHAPTER IV

CHANGES IN THE LANGUAGE TRAITS OF MEXICO AND THE UNITED STATES

Language is a cultural universal. All cultures have language, but all people do not speak the same language. There are variations in the language traits of different cultures. Language is the most important indicator of culture because culture is transmitted by language.

The language of Mexico is Spanish. Most Mexicans learn their culture through the Spanish language. The language of the United States is English. Most people in the United States learn their culture through the English language. The cultures of Mexico and the United States are different partly because their languages are different.

The language of Mexico has changed greatly since the Spanish Conquest in 1521. At that time over 100 different Indian languages were spoken in the country. As the Indians were taught to speak Spanish, they became bilingual. They could speak two languages, Spanish and their own Indian language. Over the years, Spanish replaced Indian languages.

Almost everyone in Mexico today speaks Spanish. The Spanish language trait of Mexico comes from its Spanish heritage. Less than one percent of the Mexican people speak only an Indian language. About seven percent are bilingual. There are about 46 Indian languages still being spoken in Mexico. Indian languages are spoken more in southern Mexico than in the north. The Mayan language is still spoken by 300,000 Indians on the Yucatan Peninsula in southern Mexico. Indian languages are also spoken throughout Mexico in isolated rural villages.

As more highways are built and as radios and television become more common in Mexico, more and more Indians learn to speak Spanish. It is quite possible that in less than 30 years everyone in Mexico will be able to speak Spanish.

The Spanish spoken in Mexico is different from the Spanish spoken in Spain. Many Indian words are used as part of the Spanish language in Mexico. The word *huaraches*, which means sandals, is an Indian word that is used commonly throughout Mexico.

A second difference is that many Spanish words have changed slightly as the Indians learned them. Some Indian words that are part of the language of Mexico were also changed somewhat as the Spanish learned them. Thus, the language of Mexico might be properly called Mexican Spanish.

In Mexico, as in other countries, there are regional variations in spoken Spanish. In the north, for example, stress on the accent is more prolonged than in the south. On the Caribbean coast, Mexican Spanish is similar to Caribbean Spanish.

In the United States almost everyone speaks English. The English language trait of the United States comes from its English heritage. Very few Indian words have become part of the language because there was little acculturation between the English and the Indians. Many people have immigrated to the United States from Europe. Although they brought their languages and other traits of their cultures with them, few of their words became part of the English language. Many of these immigrants learned to speak English. Almost all of their children learned English as they were acculturated into the United States culture.

In the southwestern part of the United States over 6 million people speak Spanish. Most of these people are of Mexican heritage and many are bilingual. The state of New Mexico has two official languages, Spanish as well as English, because so many of its people are of Mexican origin.

Along the border between Mexico and the United States many people use Spanish and English words in the same sentence. "Border" Spanish is used by both Spanish and English speakers who have not learned a second language, but who need to communicate orally as a result of frequent contact. Children who learn Spanish in the home as the family language must learn English in school as a second language. Many school learning problems of Americans of

Mexican origin have nothing to do with ability, but with the difficulty of receiving instruction in a second language.

Many Indian languages are still spoken in the United States. On reservations, such as the Choctaw in Mississippi and the Hopi in New Mexico, children learn an Indian language in the home as their first language. These Indian children must learn English in school. As with other children who do not learn English at home, they often find school subjects in English difficult because they have not mastered English.

In the United States, there is no one standard English. English used by radio announcers, sometimes called "General American," is spoken in the Mid-west. Standard speech for any area is simply the language spoken by the majority of educated persons of the speech region. The three major speech regions of the United States are New England, Northern, and Southern.

Languages are always changing. New words are added to a language as a result of new inventions. One hundred years ago people who spoke English did not use words such as telephone, radio, automobile, zipper, or jet, and Spanish speakers did not use words such as *telefono, radiocomunicacion, automovil, cremallera,* or *chorro,* which mean the same thing. As these inventions were developed, they needed names. Important inventions, such as the automobile, require the use of many other new words. If the use of the automobile had not become widespread, it is unlikely that people in the United States would have much use for words such as automobile, motel, turnpike, gasoline, self-starter, safety glass, and hub-cap and people in Mexico would not use such words as *automovil, motel, carretera, gasolina, arranque automatico, vidrio o cristal de seguridad,* and *plato o platillo del cubo.*

As material traits in a culture change, many words are no longer used. They remain in an unabridged dictionary as obsolete or rarely used words. Today people no longer hear some English or Spanish words such as pikeman, or arquebusier or *piquero* or *arcabucero* because these ways of fighting are no longer used.

Languages change by borrowing words from other languages. This is particularly true when people who speak

one language come in contact with people who speak a different language. Canoe and moccasin were originally American Indian words, and tea was Chinese. English has a rich vocabulary, larger than other languages, because it has been willing to borrow words from other languages. The Third Webster's International Dictionary contains over 450,000 words.

The following list shows how English has borrowed Spanish words which were originally Nahuatl, the Aztec language.

Nahuatl	Spanish	English
ahuacatl	*aguacate*	avocado
cacahuatl	*coco, cacao*	cocoa, cacao
chocolatl	*chocolate*	chocolate
coyotl	*coyote*	coyote
chictli	*chicle*	chicle
mizquitl	*mezquite*	mesquite
ocelotl	*ocelote*	ocelot
peyotl	*peyote*	peyote
tamalli	*tamal(es)*	tamale
tequilan	*tequila*	tequila
tomatl	*tomato*	tomato

The above English words are an example of secondary diffusion. They did not come to English directly from Nahuatl, but indirectly from Spanish. When words are borrowed from another language, the stress and sounds are changed to conform to the sound pattern of the borrowing language. In English this is called anglicization. Thus in English people say chok-uh-luht whereas in Spanish the pronunciation is chok-o-lah-tay. In English the accent is on the first syllable while in Spanish it is on the next to the last syllable.

Languages also change as a result of changes in pronunciation. Sometimes vowels are pronounced differently. Consonants are dropped. Words are accented in different ways.

Word meanings also change. Many of these changes result from changes in technology. If you say, "I flew to New York last week," you will not be laughed at. Your listener will know you went by airplane. Or if you say, "I called my friend in Chicago," he will know that you refer to speaking to someone on the telephone.

One of the most important cultural lines in North America is the line that separates English and Spanish speakers north and south of the Rio Grande. The twin cities of El Paso-Juarez make up a very large urban area. People from both cities move freely back and forth across the bridges that tie the two cities together. But on the El Paso side the major language is English; on the Juarez side the major language is Spanish.

Knowledge of a common language binds people together in a speech community. When the people of one culture do not know the communication code of another culture, differences in language serve as a cultural barrier.

The land of the northern part of Mexico and the southwestern part of the United States is very similar. But the use of English north of the border and Spanish south of the border is a language trait difference which makes the two cultures different.

A knowledge of both English and Spanish helps the people of the area to communicate with each other. The ability to communicate contributes to mutual understanding.

CHAPTER V

RELIGION IN MEXICO AND THE UNITED STATES

Chapter Organizer

Religion has to do with the supernatural--things and beliefs not explained in nature. An example is the belief of many people that there is a life after death. But religion is concerned more than with the idea of god. It is closely connected with political and social life. Ideas of the good are backed up with religious ideas. Thus the idea of god may not only concern how man prays but how he treats his neighbor. Two examples of how religion affects the entire culture will be given--one from the Aztec and another from the Catholic religion in Mexico.

Before being conquered by the Spanish, the Aztecs were great warriors. One reason the Aztecs were often at war had to do with belief in their main god *Huitzilopochtli*. The Aztecs thought that *Huitzilopochtli* had to be nourished eacy day by human sacrifice. To get men for sacrifice required the Aztecs to get captives in war. The Aztecs conquered many tribes. But many of the conquered tribes did not like to supply men to be sacrificed by the priests of *Huitzilopochtli*. They were ready to fight with any strong army that might overthrow the Aztecs. Cortes was able to get many Indian allies to fight against the Aztecs. Thus the idea about religion helped the Aztecs to expand their empire. But it also helped to bring about its down fall. Religion is a part of the culture, not something separate from the life of people.

A second example of the relationship of religion and other aspects of culture has to do with centralization and decentralization of government. The Roman Catholic Church was organized with an ecclesiastical hierarchy. All Catholic clergy were not equal. The territory of the Roman Catholic Church was organized into archdioceses. At the head was an archbishop. The archdiocese was divided into districts called diocese. At the head was a bishop. A diocese was divided into parishes. A parish had its own church. The minister who served in the parish church was the parish priest. The parish priests were under the bishop. The bishops were under the archbishop. This hierarchical structure in the church was the way the Spanish government in Mexico was organized. The hierarchical church structure strengthened Mexican political centralization. It also supported the system of class stratification.

In contrast, many of the Protestant churches in the United States had a congregational organization. The members of each church selected their own minister. Each church was independent, even though churches of the same denomination might cooperate. This congregational church organization helped the development of representative political institutions. It also tended to weaken class lines.

Religion is one of the great cultural universals. In every culture, man has some form of worship or supernatural belief. All of the Indian tribes in the New World had their religions. The Europeans that came to the New World brought with them their ideas of Christianity. The Spanish brought to Mexico the Roman Catholic faith. The English brought to the British colonies their Protestant faiths. Differences in religious ideas of the Europeans were not the only thing that made for differences in religion in the two countries. There were also major differences among the religious ways of the Indians of Mexico and of the United States.

In Mexico, there was a complex religious system. There were religious beliefs, many religious specialists to teach these beliefs and to carry on religious worship, and great ceremonial structures. There were great plazas, with temples and pyramids, for worship. In such a complex system, there were traits that were similar but not identical to ideas and practices found in Christianity. An example is baptism. Both Aztecs and Catholics baptized children. The fact that both Aztecs and Catholics saw similarities in their religion helped convert the Indians to Christianity. But the Indians kept many of their old ways and adapted them to Catholicism. This is called syncretism--the blending of new and old religious ways. We can therefore say that the likenesses between the Aztec religious traits and the Catholic traits helped religious acculturation.

The religious system of the Eastern Woodland Indians was not as developed as that of the Aztecs. Preaching was the main part of the church service of the Protestant English. The Indians and Protestants of the Atlantic Coast did not see religious similarities as did the Indians and Catholics of Mexico. The lack of similarity between Indian and British religious ways did not help religious acculturation.

There was also a big difference in the amount of Christian missionary effort in Mexico and the United States. The British as well as Spanish kings had as part of their colonizing policy making the Indians Christians. The Spanish kings gave the missionary effort much support; the

English kings, little support. The Spanish used the special religious orders to help convert the Indians, especially the Franciscan, Dominican, and Augustinian. The members of these orders, called friars, were at first very hard working missionaries. They not only brought the Roman Catholic faith to the Indians, but they also helped start settlements and taught the Indians many Spanish ways. The friars have been called the advance troops of the Spanish settlement of Mexico. By the end of the sixteenth century, all of the parts of Mexico settled by the Spanish were Christian. The land had many churches.

In contrast, there was little organized missionary effort in the British colonies. The Protestant ministers were mostly elected by their own congregations to serve that one congregation. There were no missionary societies. Some Protestants made efforts to convert the Indians, as in Virginia and in Massachusetts. But in both places wars with the Indians usually undid the work of making the Indians Christian.

A big difference in the Roman Catholic Church in Mexico and the various churches in the United States had to do with politics. This was true both before and after the two countries became independent. In Mexico, the Roman Catholic Church was a state church, and Mexico, as part of Spain, was a Catholic state. The only religion permitted was the Roman Catholic. And the king had the right to appoint priests and other church officials. The church was the religious arm of the state, and the church men were, in effect, employees of the king. The Spanish Inquisition was set up in Mexico in 1571. This was a special court the Spanish king used to keep his subjects loyal to him and to the Catholic church. In the first years of the struggle for Mexican independence, the high church officials remained loyal to the king. Then it looked as if they might lose some of their privileges. The high church officials then helped Mexico gain its independence. But they did so to keep their privileges, not because they believed in the people having a democratic form of government. For a hundred years, much of the history of Mexico is a story of some Mexicans trying to get the church out of politics. It was not until Calles became President in 1926 that the Roman Catholic Church was forced out of politics.

By the time British settlement began in America, England had broken away from the Catholic Church. Finally under Elizabeth a separate state church was set up, called the Church of England. It kept some of the Catholic form but was more Protestant in its ideas. But many people wanted to "purify" worship and thought even more. These

people are known as Puritans. There were also people who wanted to break away completely from the Church of England. They are known as Separatists. All those who disagreed with the Church of England were called Dissenters.

Many of these dissenting Protestant as well as Catholic groups could not worship without interference in England. They started some of the British colonies (Separatists, Plymouth; Puritans, Massachusetts Bay; Quakers, Pennsylvania; Catholics, Maryland). The English kings let them start colonies, so long as they were loyal to England. Now it is important to understand that many of those who came for religious reasons came to practice their own faith; they did not believe in religious liberty. Sometimes they set up church governments, as in Massachusetts Bay. People who disagreed with them were persecuted.

But as different Protestant groups came to the colonies, the idea began to develop that a man's politics and his religion should not get mixed up. The Baptists in particular believed in the separation of church and state, and wanted to get rid of established churches supported by taxes. They wanted churches to be voluntary associations of people who had similar views.

After the United States became independent, the Church of England was at once disestablished. How could an independent state have as its head the king of the country they were fighting against? The Church of England was reorganized in the United States as the Episcopal Church. The Puritan branch of the Church of England in Massachusetts had finally set itself up as the Congregational Church. It was harder to disestablish. But the Constitution of the United States had set out the principle of separation of church and state. This idea eventually was to help make the Roman Catholic Church the biggest denomination in the United States. Immigrants from Catholic countries after independence could freely come to the United States. They could openly worship as Catholics. In the nineteenth century the Roman Catholic Church grew very rapidly. It grew rapidly, in part, because of the separation of church and state and the idea of religious liberty that grew out of the idea of Protestant diversity--having many different Protestant churches.

Independence did not get the church out of politics in Mexico. It may have made the church even more important in politics. The Mexican government had less experience in administration than the Catholic Church. At first there was no desire to permit religious liberty in Mexico. The earliest constitution of Mexico was the one that Morelos had drawn up by the Congress of Chilpancingo in 1813. This constitution said that the Roman Catholic faith was the

state religion. Morelos, like Hidalgo, was a secular priest in the Catholic Church. It was not until 1857 that a Mexican Constitution provided for freedom of worship. But for three centuries the people of Mexico had only had the Catholic Church. They were taught that all other Christians should be kept out of the country. Permitting other religions to come into Mexico has not had a big influence. Almost all Mexicans are still Catholic, Mexicans have clung to their long heritage of religious uniformity.

Religion is more than a way of believing; it is also an organization. An organization is a way of exercising power. When a church has potitical as well as religious things to do, a church often gets another kind of power--economic power. The Catholic Church had a very long history in Mexico. Over the centuries it became very rich. It got rich from taxes, special fees, land grants, and land going to the church when there were no heirs. A great amount of wealth of Mexico came to be controlled by the church. The wealth was supposed to be used for religious, educational, and charitable work. But much of it was used for personal ends. There was a great extreme in how people in the church were paid. Some parish priests lived almost in poverty. High church officials often lived like kings. This control of the wealth of the country continued after Mexican independence. The whole economic development of the country suffered. Much of the conflict between the Mexican government and the church grew out of the government trying to rid the church of its wealth so it could be used to benefit the economic growth of the country.

One of the things the Protestant Reformation did was to limit the wealth of the clergy. In Protestant churches, the minister was made an employee with a salary. His salary depended on voluntary contributions from the church members. In contrast, in colonial Mexico the salaries of the clergy were paid out of the church tithe--a ten per cent levy for the benefit of the church collected by government officials. At the same time, all church property was exempt from taxes. In the colonies where the Anglican church was the state church, the vestrymen could assess taxes for the support of the clergy. This tax had to be paid by all people, whether or not they were members of the Church of England. But the colonists were usually very stingy in voting church taxes, as they were with other taxes. In most colonies the Anglican church did not have enough tax income to support the needed churches. The Protestant clergy of the United States did not constitute an economically privileged class. Since they did not have great wealth to protect, the American clergy had nothing to lose from independence or disestablishment.

As in many countries throughout the world, Mexico and the United States have experienced instances of religious intolerance. Intolerance exists where people do not permit others to believe in ideas that are different. In Mexico the people were intolerant of Protestants. In the United States people were intolerant of Catholics and Jews. Although religious intolerance still exists in both countries, it seems to be less of a problem now that in the past.

Religious intolerance came to Mexico and the United States from Europe. As Europeans immigrated to the New World they brought their prejudices against other religions with them.

Organizations such as the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith have done much to fight religious and ethnic intolerance.

Religious freedom now exists in Mexico as well as the United States, and there are many different Protestant groups there. The number of Protestants continues to be very small. Most Protestant churches in Mexico have been started by missionaries from the United States. Mexico, however, has not had new churches begin in the country. In the United States, however, many new churches have begun since the colonial period. Religious pluralism--many churches--is a characteristic of the United States. Religious monism--mainly having one church--is still part of the Mexican cultural heritage.

Since the Revolution of 1910, the Roman Catholic Church has become more a religious organization. It is no longer a religious-political organization. Consequently, the church in the life of modern Mexico is more like that of the church in the United States.

But the religious heritage of the two countries still shows their differences. The religious heritage of both countries shows the differences that began in the days of European colonization. The Mexican church is still Roman Catholic. In the United States, there are many different churches.

Conversion of the Indians to Christianity: Mexico

Section Organizer

The story of the change of religion in Mexico begins with the conversion of the Indians to Christianity. Before the white man came to the New World, the Indians had their own religions. In Mexico, the Aztecs and other Indian tribes had a highly developed religion. They believed in many gods; had many ideas about life and death; had many religious leaders; and built magnificent temples and shrines for worship.

The tribes of the Eastern Woodlands also had their religious practices. The remains of earthern burial and ceremonial mounds throughout the United States even today bear silent testimony to Indian religious belief.

But in the United States, Indian religious beliefs and practices were simple compared to those in Mexico. The great religious buildings of the Indians in Mexico rival those of ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia. Only a people with a highly developed religion could build such vast ceremonial centers.

Then came the Spanish with their religious ideas and leaders. The time was the beginning of the sixteenth century. The Protestant Reformation, which was the formation of new non-Catholic Christian churches, was just beginning. The Spanish, like all good Christians of Western Europe at that time, belonged to the Roman Catholic faith.

The Spanish in particular were ardent Catholics. For years they had fought the Muslims in Spain. Muslims are people who believe in Islam rather than in Christianity. Finally, in 1492, the Spanish Catholics captured Granada, the last Moorish and Muslim state in Spain. The king and queen of Spain wanted all their subjects to be good Catholics. They thought it was their duty to make all of them loyal to one religion.

In the New World the Spanish wanted to make the Indians Christians. They did not leave the conversion of the Indians to chance. They brought in missionaries from different religious orders--Franciscan, Dominican, Augustinian. The missionaries set out to convert the Indians. The conversion of the Indians was part of the planned change of

the culture of Mexico.

Spanish missionary effort and the use of force were important in converting the Indians. But the influences of prophecy, human sacrifice, and syncretism were also important in getting the Indians to give up their religion for Christianity. Today the Catholic religion in Mexico has many examples of Indian influence. The Virgin of Guadalupe is the most outstanding example of syncretism in Mexico--syncretism is the blending of old and new religious ways.

Conversion of the Indians to Christianity: Mexico

Before 1492, Europe was Catholic. Just before Jamestown was settled in 1607, the Protestant Reformation took place in Europe. This was a breaking away from the Catholic Church. As a result of the Reformation, England became Protestant. Most of the English colonists who came to America were Protestant. Thus Protestantism was brought to the United States and became the most popular form of religion.

The Protestant Reformation did not change the religion of Spain. It remained strongly Catholic. The Spanish who conquered Mexico were Catholic and brought their religion with them to the New World. Thus Catholicism became the religion of Mexico.

By the end of the sixteenth century, all the Indians in Mexico under Spanish control were Christian. Over the years, the Spanish moved north into the more thinly populated areas of Mexico. They carried with them their Catholic faith and more Indians were converted. Why did the Indians of Mexico give up their old gods so quickly and become Christians?

The answer to this question is not simple. Many factors entered into this change from the Indian religion to Christianity. In this section, five explanations will be given: prophecy, force, Spanish effort, human sacrifice and syncretism.

The Effect of Prophecy

It was the year 1519. It was also the Aztec year of *Ce Acatl*. According to Aztec prophecy, their white, bearded god *Quetzalcoatl* would return to Mexico. The main Aztec god was *Huitzilopochtli*. He was a sun-god. The Aztecs thought the renewal of his strength demanded human sacrifice. The Aztecs also had the remembrance of *Quetzalcoatl*. He was a benign deity and culture hero. He had brought the blessings of maize and civilization to the Indians.

The messengers of Montezuma brought him news of the great ships of the Spanish and the white, bearded men. Could it be that *Quetzalcoatl* was returning from the sea, as he had promised long ago? Montezuma hesitated: to fight against the Spanish would be to fight against the gods. Cortes and his companions were received as honored guests. Every gift meant to appease the Spanish only made them hungry for more gold. When Montezuma decided that the Spanish were not gods but only

mortals, it was too late. The Spanish were able to gain Indian allies and get Spanish reinforcements. Within two years after Cortes came to Mexico, the flourishing Aztec capital city of Tenochtitlan lay in ruins and the Aztec empire had collapsed. The Spanish had a superior military technology. They had many Indian allies.

But the Spanish were able to gain a foothold in Mexico because of the *Quetzalcoatl* legend. Today it seems an incredible story. But who wished to fight against the sons and brothers of the long awaited hero-god? Prophecy and the chance arrival of the Spanish in the year *Ce Acatl* helped to begin the overthrow of the Aztec empire and religion.

Human Sacrifice

One of the religious practices of the Aztecs helped Cortes to gain Indian allies to fight against the Aztecs. The religion of the Aztecs was a bloody religion. Their chief god *Huitzilopochtli* was a warrior sun-god. To keep him healthy and well nourished in his fight against the forces of darkness required a daily diet of human blood and hearts. In addition, there were many other gods and feasts which required human sacrifice.

One reason the Aztecs kept expanding their territory was to get tribute in the form of people to sacrifice.

Today archeologists lament the fact that the Spanish destroyed the great plaza and temples of Tenochtitlan. But to the ears of Cortes and his followers came the cries of the victims as they were led up the pyramid steps to the sacrificial stone. The human cries blended with the furious sound of drums and musical instruments. Then there was silence. The priests had cut out the heart of another victim with a sharp obsidian knife.

The Spanish, like all men of their time, had many faults. But human sacrifice was not part of the Christian religion. The Spanish offered Indians a way to escapt from the religious and political control of the Aztecs. They gave Indians a way to escape from the burden of human sacrifice. And thus many Indians chose to side with the Spanish and fought against their Aztec masters.

Force

A third reason for conversion was the Spanish use of force. With their superior military technology the Spanish were able to conquer the Aztecs. Was not this a sign that the Spanish had more powerful gods than the Aztecs?

And then the Spanish had the Indians destroy the idols and buildings which could remind the Indians of their old beliefs. And the gods of the Aztecs did not destroy the Spanish. It was a time when both Indian and Spaniard believed in the personal power of gods. And the Spaniard was not struck dead when he smashed a sacred idol. Was this not another sign of the superiority of Christian gods?

The Aztecs were conquered. Over a long number of years, the conquered usually take on the religion of their conquerors. But few Spanish came to Mexico compared to the millions of Indians. The Spanish made a great effort to convert the Indians.

Spanish Missionary Effort

From the beginning, Cortes made an effort to convert the Indians to Christianity. During the fighting, he asked the emperor to send "many devout monks who are zealous for the conversion of the Indians."

In 1524 the first twelve Franciscan missionaries arrived. Imagine the scene at their arrival. The friars, in their poor garb, had walked barefooted from Vera Cruz to Mexico City where a new Spanish capital was rising on the ruins of Tenochtitlan. On their arrival, Cortes knelt and kissed the hands of the friars. The Indians, who highly regarded Cortes, followed his example. The Franciscans early earned a reputation for humility and poverty, and appeared to appeal particularly to the Indians. Other orders followed the arrival of Franciscans: Dominicans in 1526; Augustinians in 1533; Jesuits in 1572, and Carmelites in 1586.

The missionaries set about their work of preaching and teaching with great zeal and enthusiasm. In a few years the friars had replaced the old Indian priests and chiefs as the leaders of Indian society. They established missionary centers in the major Indian towns. From these centers the friars were constantly on the move to the smaller towns. They preached, baptized, confirmed, married, said Mass, and taught simple elements of religion and government. They healed the sick, acted as arbiters in conflicts with the Spanish, punished those who disobeyed, and buried the dead. They also taught the Indians many European skills--masonry, carpentry, dying, weaving--and introduced new crops.

Soon the convent town became the model town in Mexico. Much Indian labor was used in building religious structures. Mexico became studded with beautiful churches built with

Indian labor. Today their legacy is one of the most attractive parts of Mexico's colonial past. In their time, however, they served as an outward symbol of the new faith of the Indian. Formerly the Indian had built a plaza and temple for human sacrifice. Now he built a church to the glory of God. Formerly he faced the mystery of renewal through human sacrifice. Now he had a more humane renewal through the Mass in a church built with his own hands.

In converting the Indians, the Spanish missionaries used ways which have been followed by missionaries throughout the world. They learned the language of the Indians so they could speak with them. Language is most important in getting people to understand non-material traits.

And the Spanish missionaries taught the children. Mostly these children were the sons of chiefs. They were taught ideas about the Christian religion and were also taught reading, writing, and music. In time, these educated children would become government officials.

Another method was to train assistants. Older and brighter boys were taught sermons. In turn, they would go out and preach to other Indians. Then they would return for more instruction. This way of increasing teaching power is very old. The method helped get the Christian message to more Indians.

A more important method of the missionaries was to point out to Indians similarities in the Aztec and Christian religions. In becoming Christian, the Indians would not be taking on ways entirely new. They would be returning to the right way from which they had been led astray by the devil. This effort to convert by similarities is discussed under syncretism.

Syncretism

Syncretism is a word to describe a special type of cultural change. It is the change in a religion which comes from the blending of old and new religious ways. Syncretism occurs when people who already have a religion take on a new religion, but mix some of their old ways and ideas with the new faith.

Religious development in Mexico is a good example of syncretism. Before the Spanish came, the Indians had a well developed religion. The Spanish thought they saw in the practices of the Indians many ways similar to Christian ways. Ideas and practices which are somewhat alike but not the same are called parallels. Both the Spanish missionaries and the Indians saw parallels between their religions. Father Vetancourt thought that the devil had corrupted the religion of the Indians. He wrote:

> The Indians practice many ceremonies similar to those ordered by the evangelic law of Christ. The conversion of the natives was facilitated because the devil introduced things which he stole from our evangelic law, such as their method of communion, baptism, confession, and adoration, which despite the enemy served that they received in truth what they had formerly received in falsehood. (Quoted in Gruening, p. 232)

What Father Vetancourt was observing was not the work of the devil, but trait variation. Religion, it has been noted, is a cultural universal. All religions have beliefs, rituals, and signs. These are universals. But traits in religion vary from religion to religion, just as other traits vary from culture to culture.

But trait similarity often helps acculturation. For example, it was easier for the Spanish missionaries to teach Indian farmers to grow a new crop than it was to get Indian hunters to become farmers. Likewise, trait similarity between Aztec and Christian ways helped the Indians to accept Christianity.

Table 1 is a comparison of Aztec-Catholic religious traits at the time of contact. Study these parallels carefully. Table 2 shows how Indians could accept Catholic ways and feel they were not departing too much from their old ways.

TABLE 2

COMPARISON OF AZTEC-CATHOLIC RELIGIOUS TRAITS,
EARLY SIXTEENTH CENTURY
(From Clavijero After Gruening, p. 230)

Aztec	Catholic
Organization	
Priests in numerous grades to care for temple and conduct worship	Cathedrals had many different positions to care for church and conduct worship
Priests held in great esteem	Priests, monks, and nuns respected and loved
Priestly hierarchy, headed by High Priest Teotecuhtli, "lord of gods"	Religious hierarchy, headed by Bishop of Rome, the Pope
Temple pyramids and plazas in major centers; many *teocalli* (houses of god) and *teopan* (places of god)	Cathedrals in major centers, parish churches, shrines, monasteries, nunneries
Male and female religious orders	Monks and nuns
Lands; temple had own lands and workers to cultivate them	Large church and monastic estates
Income: Offering of first fruits and many voluntary contributions	Tithes and priestly fees for marriage and burial
Rituals	
Incense, *copalxalli* and *yauhtli*	Incense used in church services

Rituals (cont'd)

Holy oil, *teopatli*	Holy oil used in baptism or extreme unction
Baptism ceremony, at which child was named	Baptism as sign of conversion and at naming ceremony
Communion: eat figure of idol of *Huitzilopochtli* made by temple nuns	Communion: partake of holy wafer made by nuns
Penitence, especially self-castigation	Penitence in many forms: castigation of body, prayer, pilgrimage
Fasting: not eating meat or drinking wine; eating only once a day	Fasting: no meat on Friday, on Holy Days, or during Lent
Confession: forgiveness of sin after penitence	Confession before priest
Movable feast days of various Aztec gods	Movable feast days of Christian saints
Feast in Memory of Dead Feast of *Teomique*, Goddess of Death	All Saints Day, November 2

Beliefs

Creation: *Tezcatlipoca* divided waters of heaven and earth	Genesis account of creation of heaven and earth
Beginning of world: *Cihuacoatl*	Eve
Virgin birth: *Tezcatlipoca* begot *Quetzalcoatl* by breath alone	Jesus born of Virgin Mary
Devil: *Telacatecolotl*	Devil
Life after death: Hell, purgatory, heaven	Hell, purgatory, heaven

Beliefs (cont'd)

Sacrifice and Resurrection: Feast of *Tezcatlipoca* in month of *Toxcatl*; sacrifice of sacred youth	Holy Week: Lent, Crucifixion on Good Friday, Easter Resurrection

Symbolism

Cross: widespread use of Equal-length cross	Latin cross sign of Christian faith
Charms: Idols worn around neck	Cross, crucifix, amulets, beads, medals
Sacred Eagle	Dove sign of Holy Ghost
Representation of gods in visual form	Representation of religious ideas in statues and paintings, especially of Christ and saints

The extent to which Catholicism is mixed with an Indian heritage today has to do with the size of the Indian population and the extent of isolation. Over the centuries, the Indian Christian way became more like the Spanish Christian way. But in the southern part of Mexico, where Indian languages are still widely spoken, Indian ways are still very much a part of the Catholic faith. This is also true of parts of northern Mexico where the Indians are few but often very isolated.

The *Tarahumara* Indians live in the rugged mountains of the Sierra Madre Occidental west of Chihuahua. The first *Tarahumara* mission was established by Jesuits in 1639. Today there are Catholic churches throughout *Tarahumara* country, some over two centuries old. Some churches in remote areas have not been visited by outside priests for years. The Indians carry on Catholicism mixed with many Indian ways. There are many examples of syncretism among the *Tarahumara*. One good example is in connection with a *rarijipari*. This is a kind of marathon kickball race. Note in the following description the fusion of Indian and Christian practices.

> Once the kickballs, which are about the size of grapefruit, have been carved from madrono wood, a shaman takes them to a burial cave. The shinbone of a man's right leg is exhumed. The bone, the wooden balls, bowls of food, and a jar of *tesguino* are set before a cross, and the spirit of the dead man is asked to cast a spell that will weaken the opponents. ...
>
> The night before the race, candles are lighted on either side of a small wooden cross. The runners arrive, many with fetishes they will wear to make them strong in the race: eagle feathers, hawk and vulture heads, glow-worms, and rattles made of deer hooves. The shaman chants and sings the 'song of the gray fox.' The runners make ceremonial turns around the cross and candles, the exact number of laps they will run during the *rarijipari*. ... (Natural History, January 1972, pp. 62-64)

The Virgin of Guadalupe

But all examples of syncretism pale into insignificance compared to the Virgin of Guadalupe Hidalgo, the patron saint of Mexico and Latin America. The Church of Our Lady of Guadalupe, located northeast of Mexico City, is the most

famous place of pilgrimage in Mexico. December 12, the anniversary of her final apparition, is a feast day in all of Mexico.

According to the legend, Juan Diego was on his way to church in Mexico City. He was a poor Indian, about fifty years old. The day was December 9, 1531. On passing the rocky hill of Tepeyac, the Holy Virgin appeared to him. She was an Indian Virgin, dark skinned. She told Juan to let Bishop Zumarraga know that she wanted a church built at Tepeyac in her honor.

On the following day the Virgin appeared to Juan in the same spot again. He told the Virgin he had been unable to see the Bishop and deliver the message. The Virgin told Juan to return, saying to tell the Bishop that the Mother of God had sent Juan. The Bishop demanded a sign.

Again Juan returned to Tepeyac and the Virgin appeared for a third time. For a sign, she told Juan to climb to the top of the hill and gather the roses which would be blooming there. It was not the time of the year for roses, but the trusting Juan climbed to the top of Tepeyac. He gathered the roses, and brought them to the Virgin. She put them in his blanket, which served him for a cloak. Then Juan went to see the Bishop. When Juan Diego opened his cloak, the roses fell to his feet. But the thing that amazed the Bishop was the image of the Virgin miraculously stamped on his cloak.

The Bishop ordered the image to be conveyed in procession. He also ordered a church to be built on the site. Today thousands of Mexicans come to pay homage to the Virgin of Guadalupe. Some come in fine cars; many more come on foot. Since there are many Virgins throughout the Catholic world, what is special about the Mexican Virgin of Guadalupe? Is the cult and the name merely something the Spanish brought from Spain? In Spain the monastery of Guadalupe was already famous as a place of pilgrimage. Here a shrine housed an image of the Virgin that had been concealed during the Moorish domination.

The Virgin of Guadalupe is a distinctly Mexican Virgin not only in her Indian looks but in her past. Before the Spanish came, the hill of Tepeyac had been a shrine to Tonantzin, much loved Aztec goddess of Earth and Corn. The conquerors destroyed the shrine, and it caused much grief among the Totonoqui Indians, of which she was patron. The name Tonantzin meant "mother." The Virgin of Guadalupe was special in two ways. She was the reincarnation of Tonantzin. Fifty years after her revelation Father Sahgun

noted that the Indians came to visit their Tonantzin from afar. Today some Indians still refer to the Virgin as Tonantzin. Just as in former times Indians went to the festival of Tonantzin, all Mexicans now come to pay homage to their Virgin of Guadalupe.

The second special thing about the Virgin of Guadalupe is that she appeared to poor Indian, Juan Diego. This was taken as a sign to the Indians that they take the Virgin for their Mother. After her apparition, the Indians were converted more easily. Not only the hill at Tepeyac, but the former Indian shrines were converted into Christian shrines. Catholic ritual replaced Indian ritual, but the foundation of native beliefs was seldom completely wiped out. Syncretism was a major factor in the conversion of the Indians of Mexico to Catholicism.

Conversion of the Indians to Christianity: United States

Section Organizer

On the whole, the Protestant sects of the British colonies were less interested in Indian conversion than was the Roman Catholic Church in the Spanish colonies. By the time the English colonies were begun, a hundred years after the beginning of the Spanish colonies, England was no longer unified in religion. There was an established church, the Church of England. But the movement toward separatism was never stopped. This made Protestant congregations inward rather than outward looking. The great Protestant missionary efforts in England and the United States did not begin until the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century.

The Church of England, in contrast to the Spanish Church, did not have a trained manpower pool to work for Indian conversion. In the early sixteenth century, Henry VIII dissolved the monasteries and took over their wealth. There was no longer support for religious orders. The religious orders remained the shock troops for Indian conversion throughout the Spanish period in Mexico.

On the Atlantic Coast, both English and Spanish missionaries sought to convert the Indians. There were no lasting results from these efforts. Spanish missionary work among the Indians of the Southwestern United States was more lasting. This was an extension north of the Spanish effort of conversion in Mexico.

Syncretism was less important in religious conversion in the United States than in Mexico.

Conversion of the Indians to Christianity United States

Major English Protestant efforts to convert Indians were made in Virginia and in Massachusetts. But there were no lasting results from these efforts. Working from Canada, French missionaries made temporary converts in the Mississippi Valley, but there were no permanent effects. Spanish missionary effort was found in the United States in two widely separated areas--in north Florida and on the Georgia Coast and in the Southwest. The Spanish missionary effort in New Mexico was more lasting. The Spanish missions in Texas and California went into decline after Mexican independence. Today the remains of the mission churches in the United States are a reminder of the way the Spanish missionaries helped bring Christianity to Mexico.

The English Missionary Effort

The two best examples of early missionary effort among the Indians are found in New England and Virginia. A stated purpose in the charter of the Virginia Company was the conversion of the heathen (Indians). In 1617, King James I called upon Anglican clergy to collect money "for the erecting of some churches and schools for ye education of ye children of these Barbarians in Virginia." In 1618, the Virginia Company directed the governor to find a convenient location for building "a College for the children of the Infidels," and 10,000 acres of land were set aside for those purposes. The House of Burgesses provided that a number of Indian boys should be educated "in true religion and civile course of life." A considerable sum of money was raised in the colony and in England for a college. And then disaster struck the colonists. In 1622 there was an Indian rising led by Opechancanough, successor to Powhatan. About five hundred settlers were wiped out. This massacre created a deep anti-Indian attitude. The new missionary-education work received a set back from which it never recovered.

In 1691 the College of William and Mary was finally chartered. Many Indian students were brought there in succeeding years. In 1723 the Brafferton Building was built as an Indian dormitory. This handsome, Georgian styled building is the most substantial reminder of Virginia educational and missionary efforts.

On the whole, the Virginia effort at conversion was not successful. It was not that the Indian boys could not learn English and Christian ways. They were often good students. But in Virginia the boys were brought into Williamsburg away from their people. When they were sent back to the tribe in the wilderness, they returned to their Indian ways and forgot their Williamsburg lessons.

In contrast, the Spanish missionaries established churches within the Indian communities. They lived with the Indians. They used organization, work, and required church attendance to keep the Indians faithful. The Virginia missionaries relied too much on merely teaching and preaching.

The New England Example of Indian Conversion

The work of John Eliot in Massachusetts is better known than the missionary work in Virginia. Here his efforts with the Indians earned him the title "Missionary to the Indians." Most New Englanders looked on the Indians as barbarians and devils. There was little enthusiasm for Indian conversion. The usual American pattern for treatment of the Indians was set early in the Pequot War--extermination.

John Eliot came to Massachusetts Bay in 1631 as pastor of the Roxbury congregation. In the following year, he began a school. Five years later, some captives from the Pequot War were brought to Roxbury. He began to study their language. He formed the idea of bringing Indians together to work in self-governing towns. Here they could be taught Christianity, educated, and learn useful trades. After thirty years of this effort, he had succeeded in establishing 14 towns of "praying Indians." The total population may have been as high as 4,000.

Then King Philip's War broke out in 1675. For three years Indians and New Englanders murdered and killed each other. The peaceful, converted Indians were caught between the suspicions of the whites and the vengeance of the Indians. When the war was over, the Indians had been defeated. But also gone was the work of Eliot. In King Philip's War the Indians were to find that becoming Christian and trying to learn the white man's ways was no protection against white bad feeling. Over and over in later years whites would massacre peaceful Indians.

The most lasting work of Eliot was with the Algonquian language. In 1653 the Chatechisms was translated into

Massachusetts Algonquian. In 1661 the New Testament was translated, followed by the Old Testament in 1663.

The Spanish Missionary Effort in the United States

In the colonial period, both Spanish and French missionaries were active in the United States. The Spanish effort in New Mexico was the most lasting. It was a northward extension of Spanish missionary effort in Mexico.

Converts among the Pueblo Indians were made as early as the Coronado expedition of 1540. In 1581, Augustin Rodriguez, a Franciscan friar, led a missionary expedition to New Mexico. The area was permanently colonized by Juan Onate in 1598-99. The town of Santa Fe was founded in 1610. Except among the Hopi, Spanish missionary efforts were generally successful. But the Spanish missionaries were less tolerant of Indian practices than their predecessors in Mexico. The Indians objected to the missionaries interfering with their religion.

In 1680 it appeared that all Spanish efforts would be lost. There was a widespread Indian Pueblo revolt. The Spanish, with some loyal Indians, were driven out of New Mexico. They took refuge in El Paso del Norte (now Ciudad Juarez).

In 1692 Diego de Vargas began the reconquest of New Mexico, and by 1696 had reestablished Spanish rule. This area remained part of Mexico until the Mexican-American War of 1848. By the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, the Southwest was ceded to the United States by Mexico. Today there are living reminders that this area was once part of the Spanish viceroyalty of Mexico. There are adobe churches in the Indian Pueblos built by the Indians under missionary supervision. Many Indians are still Catholic. Indian names are often Spanish names.

There were other areas of Spanish intensive missionary activity--on the Georgia Islands between 1566 and 1702 and in Texas and California in the years before Mexican independence. In the last two areas, the remains of mission churches are an architectural reminder of Spanish effort. One of them, the Alamo, was to become immortalized in the Texas war for independence. Of the effort in Georgia in the area known as Guale, only musty documents remain to tell of the work of Franciscan and Dominican missions.

In contrast to Mexico, syncretism has been comparatively

unimportant in the development of religion in the United States. The Indian tribes were smaller and religious institutions were simpler than in Mexico. There were fewer parallels in Indian and Protestant religious traits. There was also less effort to convert the Indians.

Today in the United States one of the best examples of syncretism is the use of peyote among certain Indian Christian groups in the United States. Peyote is a drug that comes from a spineless cactus, the peyote mescal. Peyote use in religion reappeared in 1885 among the Kiowa and Comanche in Oklahoma. In 1918, various peyote-using groups were incorporated as the Native American Church. The Native American Church is Christian, but many of the beliefs and practices follow Indian ways. Numerically, the Native American Church is small, claiming about 200,000 members.

In the pueblos of the Southwest, there are many examples of religious syncretism. This syncretism, however, belongs to Spanish and not United States influence. The pueblos were converted to Catholicism by Spanish missionaries in the seventeenth century.

Today most of the Indians of the United States belong to some branch of the Christian Church. Most of the Indians, however, became Christian after they were placed on reservations. Most Cherokee, however, had been converted to Christianity in the early nineteenth century before their forced removal to the West.

Unity and Diversity in the Catholic and Protestant Colonial Traditions in Mexico and the United States

Section Organizer

During the colonial period, two different religious traditions were established in Mexico and the United States--Catholic and Protestant. This statement is not to imply the lack of the growth of the Catholic faith in the United States. All Englishmen did not become Protestant, and the colony of Maryland was specifically founded in 1633 as a place where English Catholics could practice their religion. As European immigration shifted in the nineteenth century from Protestant to Catholic countries, more and more Catholics came to the United States. Today the largest single denomination in the United States is Roman Catholic, 35% of the claimed church membership. Mexico, in contrast, is 98% Catholic.

In the formative period of the country's development--in the colonial years and the early nineteenth century--the dominant religious feeling was Protestant. Catholicism developed in the United States as one of many churches, rather than as a single church, as in Mexico. Consequently, there has been acceptance by American Catholics of civil principles not always found in Catholic countries. Among these are separation of church and state and religious tolerance.

Unity and Diversity in the Catholic and Protestant Colonial Traditions in Mexico and the United States

This section is primarily concerned with how there were established churches in Mexico and the United States during the colonial period. The diversity of Protestant churches in the United States favored disestablishment after independence. In Mexico, however, the religious monopoly of the Catholic Church did not favor disestablishment. (See also the latter section, "Political Role") There was also greater freedom of religious thought in the United States. Religious orthodoxy (being very traditional in religion) and philosophic rationalism (trying to work out religion on an intellectual basis) both emerged in the United States in the eighteenth century (See "The Great Awakening" and "Deism"). This did not eliminate religious intolerance (See the section, "Religious Intolerance") in the United States. It did contribute to the rise of many new American churches in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (See the section, "Emergence of New Churches in the United States").

Establishment and Disestablishment

During the colonial period, both Mexico and the British royal colonies had an established church. An established church is an official, state church which is supported by taxes rather than by voluntary contributions. In Mexico, the established church was the Roman Catholic Church; in the British colonies, the established church was the Church of England in the southern colonies and the Congregational Church in New England. People in the British colonies who did not belong to the established church had to pay taxes to support that church.

After the Declaration of Independence, the Church of England was quickly abolished as the established church in the southern states. The Church of England had as its head the King of England. A people who rebelled against the King as their political head would also get rid of a state church which had him as the head.

After the American Revolution, the Church of England was reorganized in 1784 as the United States Protestant Episcopal Church. It is still identified with the Anglican Communion in doctrine and practice. But there is no political connection with the Church of England.

Disestablishment came much later in New England where the Congregational Church was established. It did not come about until 1833 in Massachusetts. Even after disestablishment, the states continued to give support to various churches for teaching. Before public schools were organized, the churches were the chief means of educating children. As long as the country was mainly Protestant, a modest, non-doctrinal involvement of church and state was acceptable. After the growth in the size of the Catholic population, a change in attitude came about. States and cities stopped using taxes for church controlled instruction.

In contrast to the United States, Mexico confirmed its support of an established church. The Morelos Plan of 1813 provided that only the Catholic Church would be tolerated but it would be supported by tithes, not taxes. The constitution of 1824 continued the Catholic Church as an established church. It was not until the Reform Constitution of 1857 that the church was disestablished. The Roman Catholic Church never did accept this loss of a privileged political position, and continued to resist until the 1920s when a pro-church movement was suppressed by the government.

Article I of the Bill of Rights to the Constitution of the United States of 1787 prohibits any law respecting government establishment of religion. This has been interpreted increasingly to place a barrier between church and state. In the case of Engel v. Vitale, 370 U.S. 421 (1962), the saying of the Lord's Prayer was prohibited in public schools.

The Mexican Constitution of 1917, like that of the United States, is secular in its emphasis. There is no state church in Mexico. The Roman Catholic Church in Mexico, as in the United States, must depend on voluntary contributions.

Uniformity and Diversity in Religion

Both Mexico and the British colonies had established churches. In Mexico, the pattern led to uniformity. Only one church was permitted--the Catholic Church. In the British colonies, many churches were permitted. How did this difference in Mexican uniformity and United States diversity begin?

In Spain, the Spanish rulers thought that political loyalty and religious loyalty had to be the same thing. The Spanish rulers used a religious court of investigation to make people conform to one view, the Catholic view. It

was started in Spain in 1480. It was started in Mexico in 1571. The legal name of this religious court of inquiry was the Holy Office. It is better known as the Inquisition. It was not ended in Mexico until after independence in 1821.

In England, the rulers preferred that the people belong to the Church of England after it was begun. But they were more concerned with personal loyalty than they were with all people having the same religious ideas. Thus loyal Englishmen were permitted to start colonies where they could worship the way they wanted to. Thus English separatists founded Plymouth; Puritans, Massachusetts; Baptists, Rhode Island; and Quakers, Pennsylvania. Outside of Rhode Island, New England was an area of the colonies where most of the colonists were English in the Puritan-Separatist tradition. Pennsylvania was the best example of religious pluralism. Founded by a Quaker, William Penn and his heirs also encouraged people of different religions and lands to come to Pennsylvania. In fact, the proprietary colonies generally were the most diverse in their religions--they needed people to develop the colonies. Without people, their vast estates would be worthless.

Thus by the end of the colonial period, Mexico was a country uniform in the Roman Catholic religion. The United States had many different religious groups which included the following:

Protestants

- Presbyterians
- Moravians
- Lutherans
- Anglicans--Church of England
- Congregationalists
- Quakers
- Salzburgers
- Baptists
- French Huguenots

Roman Catholics

Jews

This religious diversity would eventually contribute to another more important product--religious tolerance. Tolerance is the acceptance of viewpoints that are different from one's own.

More churches in Mexico; fewer churches in terms of population in the United States. The town-settlement emphasis of Mexico was similar to the town pattern of New England. As a result, it was easier to build a church and maintain a congregation. Thus despite a gulf in theology and religious practice, both Puritan New England and Catholic Mexico had in common the town church with its pastor or priest.

Outside of New England, the usual form of settlement in the United States was the dispersed farm. On the frontier in particular the population was scattered. Often many frontier families became professional frontier people. They built crude houses, scratched a little land, combined some hunting and farming for a living, and moved westward as the frontier got too "crowded." Many such families lived for generation after generation without benefit of teacher, preacher, or lawyer.

Often times the picture of much church going is associated with colonial times in the United States. This is true only for the people who lived in the towns. At the end of the colonial period, the United States had fewer church members for its population than any other Christian country. There were fewer church members in proportion to the population than there are today. It is estimated that in 1760 not more than 20 people in 100 belonged to a church.

Church membership, however, is not the only measure of the importance of religion. Many people in the British colonial period did not belong to a church simply because there was no church within reach. Revivalism, a frontier phenomena, has left a particular type of religious imprint on religion in the United States.

Seculars and Jesuits in Mexico

Throughout the colonial period, the strict alliance of state and church continued. The Spanish king not only controlled church appointments, but he also controlled communications from the Pope to the clergy in New Spain.

After the sixteenth century, there was a decline in religious zeal. The country had become largely converted, and many friars and seculars tended to give more emphasis to their own comfort than to the service of the church. One reason was the fact that the state completely controlled church finances. In the Indies, the king agreed to take care of church finances in exchange for collecting and administering church taxes. The state government never adequately financed the church. By the end of the colonial period, the

church was paying more to the government than it was getting in support.

Two of the most important developments during the latter colonial period was the move toward secularism and the expulsion of the Jesuits. The monastic and mendicant orders, e.g., Benedictines, Augustinians, Franciscans, Dominicans, had been the main means of converting the Indians. And in the last days of the colonial period new missions were started in California, Texas, and in New Mexico. But there were two main classes of religious orders. These were called seculars and regulars. The seculars were the regular priests, who were under the jurisdiction of the hierarchy of cardinal, archbishop, and bishop. Since the king, through the royal patronage, controlled these appointments, the king also controlled the personnel of the seculars.

The regular orders was the name given to the monks and frairs. Some of these lived a contemplative life; others lived a very active life. But the object of their life was self-perfection. The secular clergy, composed mainly of parish priests, lived out in the world to serve the people of a parish. The members of the regular orders were responsible to their own abbot, who was responsible to the Pope. Thus the regulars were not under the same control of the Spanish king as the seculars. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the government favored the secular clergy over the regular clergy. The regular clergy was small in comparison to the seculars at the time the Independence movement began.

One of the things the independent government of Mexico did was to break up the missions, as in California. One of the last great mission efforts of the Spanish colonial period was the establishment by Franciscans of a series of missions extending from San Diego to Sonona, north of San Francisco. These were built between 1769 and 1823. In 1834 the missions were secularized, and they fell into rapid decay. Most of them have now been restored as places of historical interest.

Toward the end of the colonial period an order was expelled from Spain and all Spanish possessions. This was the Jesuit order. It is not known why Charles III, who had done so much to improve conditions in Spain and the Indies, decided to get rid of the Jesuits. Perhaps it was the rumors of their great wealth. Perhaps it was the special vow of obedience they made to the Pope rather than to the Spanish king. In 1767 the king gave the order to expel the Jesuits. This was a great loss to Mexico. The Jesuits were the best teachers, and had the finest secondary schools

and colleges. They were also among the best farmers. Their expulsion was an economic loss. They were also among the best administrators. If the Jesuits had not been expelled, independence may not have come so quickly. Their departure meant that Mexico lost some of her best brains. And they were never replaced.

Secularization of the clergy and the expulsion of the Jesuits may have added to the instability of Mexico when it became independent.

Religious conformity and diversity: religious thought

Spain, it has been noted, tried to maintain religious uniformity. The religious court of the Inquisition was one of the main ways to keep church belief uniform. To keep out conflicting ideas, the Roman Catholic Church also instituted the Index of Prohibited Books. This was a system of censorship. It was designed to keep out of circulation or publication books or ideas that might lead people to question the teaching of the Roman Catholic Church.

After the Council of Trent, a Tridentine Index was published. This was an up to date list of prohibited works. Later a Congregation of the Index was established to keep censorship up to date. The Index was not entirely successful in Mexico, for Mexicans did read prohibited books. Many books were smuggled into New Spain. Hidalgo, father of the Mexican Revolution, and Lucas Alaman, the great Mexican historian, were both reprimanded for reading prohibited books.

But, in general, the Index was successful in keeping new ideas away from the mass of the people. At times it appeared that the reason some books were prohibited was simply because they were in English. Examples of such forbidden works in the Library of Lucas Alaman in 1812, then a twenty-year-old student, were William Robertson's History of America and Oliver Goldsmith's Vicar of Wakefield. Censorship, even when not complete, can still have much to do with isolating the great body of people from outside ideas. This happened in Mexico and other Latin American countries as well as in Spain and Italy.

In contrast to the conformity of religious and political thought in Mexico, there was a diversity of thought in the colonies. This was not so much the result of Protestant tolerance. In fact, the credit for toleration in the American colonies goes to Lord Baltimore's Maryland colony. Here the first shipload of Catholic gentlemen were accompanied by a much larger number of workers, Protestant in faith. New England in particular was notorious for its religious intolerance.

Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson were both hounded out of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. The witch hunts and trails in Salem, Massachusetts in 1692 show that the air of the New World did not automatically bring to Englishmen a sense of Tolerance. But there were many different colonies, people from different countries, and members of different sects. In time, therefore, Americans were able to adjust to differences in religious ideas. Mexicans did not have to adjust to differences in religion because only the Roman Catholic religion was permitted.

Differences in religious thought in the British colonies are shown by two contradictory movements. One was the Great Awakening and Revivalism; the other was the rise of Deism and Unitarianism.

The Great Awakening and the Great Revival

The Great Awakening belongs to the last years of the colonial period. This is a term given to a revival in religious thought and practice in the second quarter of the eighteenth century. The movement spread very quickly. It reached its peak among the poor and frontier folk, particularly in the southern back country. Some of the great preachers of the Great Awakening came from abroad. Among them were John and Charles Wesley and George Whitefield. They preached a religion of hope and salvation. The most noteworthy preacher of the Great Awakening was Jonathan Edwards of New England. He revived the old Calvinist ideas of the sovereignty of God, the depravity of man, and predestination and election by God's grace alone. He literally held his listeners spell-bound as he dangled sinners over the firey pits of hell.

The Great Revival is the name given to a frontier revival which came alive again after independence. The Great Revival was the most significant religious event of the early nineteenth century. The Presbyterians held their first camp meeting in Kentucky in 1800, and it was soon taken up by the Methodists. In 1811, there were some 400 camp meetings, each lasting several days. Sinners and saints both came together at those open-air meetings. They often resembled a carnival rather than a church. Men and women spoke in unknown tongues, had fits of religious ecstasy, and lay in the dust twitching with holy jerks. Eventually many preachers began to condemn the camp meetings.

But the camp meeting was to persist for many years as an annual revival form in the South. It had also served the purpose of bringing religion to the backwoods. Before it had been a rarity.

The Methodist circuit rider was particularly adapted to the isolated frontier conditions. Within sixty years after its founding, the Methodist Protestant Church became the largest United States denomination. The Baptists also were noted for their ideas of equality. Education was a rarity on the frontier, and the Baptists found their preachers among farmers and workers. The simple, Bible preaching had more appeal to frontier people than the more refined theological ideas of the older churches. Within a few years after the Revolution, the Western growth of the country had brought about a religious shift. In the older sections of the Atlantic seaboard, the older churches were found, especially Congregationalists, Episcopalians, Lutherans, and Quakers. In the new sections Baptists, Presbyterians, Campbellites (Christians), and Methodists were more numerous.

Rationalism: Deism and Unitarianism in the United States

The eighteenth century in Europe was the century of the Enlightenment. This was a time when thinkers, especially French thinkers such as Voltaire and Diderot, thought that man could control his future through the use of reason. It was a heady idea, especially to people who had been taught that their future was determined by God's judgment. Thus at the same time Jonathan Edwards was preaching a return to the old Calvinist faith, the effects of rationalism was being felt in religious thought.

One of the by-products of the Enlightenment was Deism. This was a rational and philosophic approach to religion which softened the beliefs of the older Puritanism. Among the great Americans whose religious ideas were influenced by Deism were Thomas Jefferson and Benjamin Franklin. The greatest spokesman for Deism in the United States was Thomas Paine. His book, Age of Reason, appeared in 1794. This book expressed the major ideas of religious rationalism.

Deism did not have any impact on the frontier. Here the people, unlettered and ignorant, preferred a simpler faith. Deism had its greatest influence in New England. New England had been the intellectual center of the country in the colonial period. Late into the nineteenth century it continued to be first in philosophy and letters.

In New England, Deism had a lasting impact in the rise of Unitarianism. Unitarianism got its name from the idea that God was one, not a Trinity. The orthodox trinitarian view was expressed in the phrase "God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost." Unitarians took the position that Jesus was the Son of God, but not God Himself. They also held that man was not born in sin and was not by nature

evil. The older view was that at birth man was tainted with original sin and that he was inherently evil unless saved by God. The Unitarians also held that the way of salvation was open to all mankind. They did not believe in the idea of Calvin that only the elect people, chosen by God, could be saved.

Soon the American Congregationalist Church was split between those who still believed in the old and those who advocated the new theology. William Ellery Channing was a preacher at Federal Street Church in Boston. He was one of the great spokesmen for the new point of view.

The ideas of Deism and Unitarianism passed over most Protestants. They preferred to stick to older religious ideas. But the movement did have an affect on all Protestant sects. They tended to take a less harsh attitude toward man and hell. They did not emphasize, as Jonathan Edwards had done so well, the evil nature of man. There was more emphasis on God's mercy and goodness to all men. Thus even orthodox religious views were changed somewhat by the influences of rationalism.

The Emergence of New Protestant Churches in the United States: Diversity Increases

Section Organizer

During the colonial period, many new sects immigrated from Europe to the United States. Most Protestant ideas in the United States have their roots in the Reformation which began in Europe.

But many churches emerged in the United States which did not exist in the colonial period. These churches may be regarded as indigenous, or native American, churches. Among the largest are the Baptists and the Methodists. Other notable church groups in the United States are the Christian, Mormon, Christian Science, Seventh Day Adventist, and Pentecostal.

And the movement towards separation has not stopped. It seems that once religious diversity comes about, the tendency is for groups of people to break away to form separate churches. Separatism as a force seems to be stronger than consolidation.

Only one Protestant sect, the Baptists, are discussed in this chapter due to limitations of space.

In addition to the Protestant sects in the United States, there exists a strong Roman Catholic Church. Although Protestants outnumber Catholics, the largest single denomination in the country is the Roman Catholic Church. The Catholics largely succeeded in keeping its church unified. It has exercised leadership in the religious education of its young.

The Emergence of New Protestant Churches in the United States: Diversity Increases

The emphasis on conformity of religious belief in Catholic countries made it possible for the church to remain one, united church. This does not mean that there were not differences within the church. The various monastic orders had different things to emphasize. The Franciscans, for example, emphasized poverty as a way to salvation. The Dominicans were always recognized as great teachers. The Jesuits were both a great missionary and teaching order. But these were movements within the Catholic Church. The various orders and movements agreed on the essentials of faith. They were all loyal to the Pope.

The Protestant movement resulted, it was noticed, in the formation of many churches. The Baptist Church developed in the United States in the colonial period. After the United States achieved independence, many new churches were formed. Schism, the breaking away from old churches to form new churches, continued. Some of these new churches which were developed after independence were the Methodist, Christian, Mormon, Christian Science, Seventh Day Adventist, and Pentecostal.

The Baptist Church

This church grew out of the tendency of many thinkers to become more Puritan and Separatist in their thinking. Some British settlers brought these ideas with them. Others took on these ideas after they came to the colonies. One of these was Roger Williams. He is credited with founding the first Baptist church in Providence in 1639. From here Baptist ideas spread throughout the colonies. There were some 500 Baptist congregations in the colonies just before the Revolution. After the Revolution, the Baptists grew very quickly. In twenty years the number of Baptist congregations doubled. Soon it was to become the largest Protestant group in the United States, but it split into various groups as a result of the controversy over slavery. Today the Southern Baptist Convention is the largest Baptist Convention. It is not restricted to the South. Today the term Southern reflects the fact that there was a split over slavery and that the Southern Baptists were organized as a separate convention in Augusta, Georgia in 1845.

BLANK PAGE
DO NOT FILM

The Baptists get their name from their insistence that only adults can be baptized as Christians. They do not believe in infant Baptism, a practice of the Catholic Church continued by the Anglicans, Lutherans, and Methodists. The Anabaptists in Germany were the first to come out strongly against infant baptism. The Baptists follow a congregational form of organization. Each church governs itself and they do not have bishops or other high church officials. They have no creed and believe in the Bible in all matters of faith and practice. A Baptist church is also composed only of believers. Baptist children often join the church when they come forward and accept Christ as their Saviour. As in the older Puritan congregations, the main emphasis in worship is the sermon. Instead of using set prayers, as in the Episcopal Book of Common Prayer, the prayers are extemporaneous--made up as the preacher or person prays. Instead of individuals coming up to the chancel rail for communion, communion is received in the pews. It is served once a month. Baptism is by immersion. Singing hymns is a very prominent part of Baptist worship.

In governing the church, the members of the congregation meet as a governing body. In recent years in the larger churches there is more of a tendency to leave governing of the church to elected boards. The Baptist conventions have many boards to carry on the work of the church--foreign missions, home missions, and the like. But these boards have no control over the individual congregations. They exist simply to carry on the work of the church.

The Baptists have, from the very beginning, emphasized separation of church and state. Even today some Baptist colleges do not accept federal aid to education because they believe such aid violates this principle. Baptist influence was important in getting two guarantees of religious liberty into the United States Constitution--the first amendment guarantee of no religious establishment and the "no religious test" clause in Article VI, paragraph 3. During the colonial period, especially in New England, Baptists had suffered at the hands of the established church.

Baptists have long been noted for their strong Sunday school emphasis. They also have a strong educational emphasis and support many church colleges. Originally, the Baptists were strongly Calvinistic in their theology. After independence, this emphasis gave way to Evangelicalism (See "Great Revival"). The emphasis on conversion did away with the old theological structure of the Baptists.

In the twentieth century there was an attempt to bring new ideas into the Baptist church. This movement was known as Modernism. This idea was rejected by many who thought that the movement went against some of the special things about the Christian revelation. A reaction set in against the Modernists known as Fundamentalism. This was, in one respect, a return to old Protestant ideas. Fundamentalism was not found just in the Baptist Church, but here it caused some further splits. In 1947 Fundamentalists split from the Northern Baptist Convention and organized the Conservative Baptist Association of America.

Growth of Catholic Church in the United States

One of the most notable developments of the nineteenth century was the growth of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States. At the end of the colonial period, there were few Catholics in the United States--about 25,000 in a population of three million. Then toward the middle of the nineteenth century the Catholic Church began to grow. The reason for this rapid growth was immigration from Catholic countries--Ireland, Southern Germany, Poland, and Italy in particular.

Two main developments of this period had to do with maintaining church unity and the establishment of parochial schools. The original Catholics of the United States were, like Protestants, of English origin. As people of different nationalities came to the United States speaking different languages, one of the main problems was to keep the immigrants in a unified Catholic church. Many of the Catholic newcomers wanted to have their own churches with priests separate from the older American Catholic Church. The early American Catholics wanted to keep the Catholics in one united Catholic Church under one set of church officials. They succeeded in their efforts of "Americanism," and only one group broke away to form the Polish Catholic National Church. It has about a quarter of a million members compared to the Roman Catholic Church which has almost fifty million members.

A second major development was the move to have separate Catholic operated, or parochial schools. At the beginning of the public school movement, Catholic, like Protestant children, attended the public schools. But the public schools were definitely Protestant in their religious orientation. Teachers and textbooks were often anti-Catholic (See "Nativism"). And the teaching of Catholic religion in the schools was prohibited. So the Catholics

undertook a major educational effort--that of trying to provide a school desk for every Catholic elementary pupil. In the main the Catholics succeeded. The increasing costs of financing a separate school system has made the issue of state aid to parochial schools a matter of sharp controversy in recent years.

Although the Roman Catholic faith got a late start in the United States, it now has the largest membership of any country in the world. United States Catholics, like United States Protestants, also tend to be more active in support of their church. The Roman Catholic Church throughout the world relies heavily upon the support of American Roman Catholics.

Religious Intolerance

Section Organizer

The history of Mexico and the United States has many instances of religious intolerance. Intolerance exists where people do not permit others to believe in ideas that are different. Until the Constitution of 1857, it was the governmental policy to exclude from Mexico all religions other than the Roman Catholic. After the Constitution of 1857, other faiths were supposed to be tolerated. But the clergy and people as a whole continued to be anti-Protestant. Since the 1930s, there has been less anti-Protestant feeling expressed in Mexico. This is probably a result of the rise of secularism more than it is in the people becoming more tolerant. Secularism is an attitude that places more importance on things of this world than on religion.

There are many examples of religious intolerance in the United States. The most enduring kind of intolerance is that shown between Catholics and Protestants. The United States was largely settled by Protestants who had strong anti-Catholic feelings. These anti-Catholic feelings were revived in the nineteenth century with the Know Nothing Party and in the twentieth century with the Ku Klux Klan. Another enduring type of religious prejudice is anti-Semitism, a feeling of antagonism toward people of the Jewish faith. An extreme example of nineteenth century intolerance was the persecution of the Mormons. In the United States, as in Mexico, there is a trend toward secularism. There is also a political and religious emphasis on the acceptance of cultural differences. Out of these different trends people in the United States, as in Mexico, appear to be more willing to accept religious differences than they were even a century ago.

Religious Intolerance

Religious bigotry and intolerance in colonial period

The sixteenth century was not only a century of religious change. It was also a century of religious wars. It seems that in the history of the Western World divisions over religion have always been among the most bitter. Each religious group has claimed that it had the truth. A dangerous situation arises when there are different versions of the truth, but each side claims that it has the one that must be believed. Thus there were not only differences between Catholics and Protestants, but there arose many differences among Protestants. These differences did not end when the various groups came to the New World.

Spain, it has been noted, kept non-Catholics out of its territories. The policy of religious exclusion of Protestants kept the people united in one faith but suspicious of people of other faiths.

A more open policy was found in the British colonies. Many of these colonies were founded for the specific purpose of providing an opportunity for members of a particular faith to worship according to their conscience. The four colonies that had specific religious motives in their settlement were Plymouth for Dissenters, Massachusetts Bay for Puritans, Maryland for Catholics, and Pennsylvania for Quakers.

The desire to worship according to one's own conscience is not the same thing as religious freedom. The British colonists brought to America the same religious prejudices that occurred in England. Two examples will suffice, involving Puritans and Catholics.

The Puritans who settled Massachusetts Bay still considered themselves members of the Church of England. They were not Separatists, as were the Plymouth settlers. When Roger Williams came to Massachusetts Bay in 1631, he had become more "reformed" than those who had come before. He insisted upon an open break with the Church of England. In addition, he did not want the civil magistrates to have anything to do with religion. He was then banished, or sent away, from Massachusetts Bay in 1636 and became one of the founders of Rhode Island. Others banished from the

Massachusetts Bay Colony were the Rev. John Wheelright, and Anne Hutchinson. Anne Hutchinson was formally tried and excommunicated by the Boston church. She and William Coddington established one of the early Rhode Island settlements at Aquidneck in 1638. Other examples of Puritan intolerance were the hanging of four Quakers in Boston between 1659 and 1661. Persecution of Quakers, however, was not confined to New England. Between 1655 and 1662 about 60 Quaker missionaries came to the British colonies. Everywhere they came they were met with extreme hostility.

Maryland was founded as a colony to provide Catholics freedom of religious worship. From the outset, however, the colony had many Protestants. The ships that brought 20 Catholic gentlemen to Maryland in 1634 also brought 200 laborers, most of whom were Protestants. In 1649 Maryland's Act Concerning Religion, known as the Toleration Act, was the first act in America to recognize religious liberty.

The Catholic Church remained small in numbers throughout the colonial period. After William and Mary came to the throne in 1688, Catholics in the colonies were the target of discriminatory laws in all the colonies. Maryland had become a royal colony in 1692. Anti-Catholic laws were particularly severe in Maryland, which had been established as a refuge for Catholics.

Benjamin Franklin and Father John Carroll, who became the first Catholic bishop in 1789, tried to get the Catholic population of Quebec to join the movement for Revolution. But the French Catholics of Canada remained loyal to England. One reason is that under British rule the French Catholics in Canada had been guaranteed the right to practice their religion (Treaty of Paris, 1763). Later Parliament ratified this right and guaranteed the Catholic clergy their usual rights and duties (Quebec Act, 1774). This was another thing that made the colonists very mad with England. The anti-Catholic attitude of the Protestant British colonies helped keep Catholic Canada loyal to the British during the Revolution.

At the end of the colonial period, the Catholic population in the United States was very small. It is estimated that the Catholic minority in 1775 was about 25,000. They were served by not more than 20 priests.

The aftermath of the Revolution not only brought religious liberty to all Protestant sects but to Catholics as well. Charles Caroll of Carollton was the lone Catholic signer of the Declaration of Independence. There were two Catholic members of the Constitutional Convention of 1787.

The nineteenth century was a century of heavy migration from European Catholic countries to the United States. As a result, the Catholic population grew very rapidly.

Nativism and Anti-Catholicism in the United States

By 1800 the Catholic Church in the United States had a membership of about 50,000. Most of these were the descendants of old American families. For a half-century, from independence to the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century, Roman Catholicism prospered in the United States. But then the old anti-Catholic bias raised its head after 1830. And the 1840s and 1850s were years marked by violence and arson. This came about as a result of the increase in the large number of Catholic immigrants, largely Irish and German.

The first third political party movement grew up as a democratic protest against secret societies. Sensing the opportunity for political gain, anti-Jackson politicians formed the first third party. It was called the Anti-Masonic Party. Its contribution to American political procedures was the use of a convention in nominating its presidential candidate, William Wirt. This 1831 nomination also contained the seeds of anti-Catholic sentiment.

Soon this anti-Catholic idea was to be expressed in the formation of the American Party, better known as the Know-Nothing Party. The objectives of the party were to keep Catholics and aliens from holding public office. In 1835 F. B. Morse, better known for his invention of the telegraph, published his Foreign Conspiracy. Thereafter it served as a textbook for nativitists. They imagined a popish plot to take over the United States.

Two factors contributed to a heavy Catholic immigration before the Civil War. One was the Great Famine in Ireland in 1846 and 1847. The second was failure of the German Revolution of 1848. The potato crop, staple of Irish diet, failed. Thousands of Irish faced death by starvation and epidemic. There was a tremendous outpouring of Irish to the United States. The Irish were Catholic, poor, uneducated, and alien. Most, by choice or necessity, remained in the cities of the northeast. They were blamed for the slums in which they were crowded and for the rise in crime. The Catholics also complained that in the public schools their children were exposed to anti-Catholic teachers and texts. They were also forced to use the King James (Protestant) Bible.

Appealing to this anti-Catholic feeling, a number of secret societies were formed. In 1850 they united to form the Supreme Order of the Star Spangled Banner. Among the official beliefs of the order were opposition to Catholics or aliens to holding public office, stricter naturalization laws, and enactment of literacy tests for voting. Because members, under the secrecy rule, replied to questions about the order with the reply "I know nothing," the order became popularly known as Know-Knothing.

It had an early success in the Northeast. It gained control of many local governments and in 1854 won control of the Massachusetts state government. After formation of the Republican Party, most Know-Nothings joined the Republicans. The party in 1856 nominated Millard Fillmore for the presidency, but ceased thereafter to have any political influence. In that election Fillmore received 20 per cent of the vote, and this probably helped elect the Democratic candidate Buchanan President rather than the Republican candidate Fremont. Thus while religion and politics were nominally separate, religious attitudes affected political decisions. Anti-Catholic feeling, however, was still strong until the Civil War caused people to think about other things.

After the turn of the century, there was another revival of nativism in the United States. The Ku Klux Klan was revived in the 1920s, and it waged a campaign of bigotry against Catholic, Jew, Negro, and all aliens. Anti-Catholicism was especially noticeable in the election of 1928, when Smith, a Catholic, was the Democratic candidate for President. Hoover, a Republican candidate and Quaker, won. In 1960 John F. Kennedy, a Catholic, was elected President. The lack of anti-Catholic feeling in that election suggests that nativism and intolerance may have lost something of their force.

Catholic groups are among the most patriotic groups in the United States. This in part may be due to nativist attacks. Questions about their loyalty were met with strong public displays of loyalty. As attacks on Catholics decrease, this strongly patriotic stand has changed. Some of the most violent critics of United States involvement in the Viet Nam War have been Catholics as well as Protestants.

Anti-Semitism in the United States

A special form of religious and ethnic prejudice in the United States is directed against the Jews. The first Jews to come to the United States were 23 refuges from Brazil. They came to New York in 1654. It was then under Dutch rule. The Dutch had long been hospitable to Jews who had been forced to leave Spain.

The number of Jews who came to the United States in the colonial period was small. By 1776 there were five organized Jewish communities--New York City, Newport, Philadelphia, Charleston, and Savannah. By 1790 there were not more than 2,500 Jews in the United States. Until about 1830 most of the Jews who came to the United States were Sephardic Jews. These are Jews who follow the Spanish Jewish rite.

The period 1830-1881 was a period of increased Jewish immigration, especially from Germany. Beginning in 1881, hundreds of thousands of Jews from Russia, Poland, and the Ukraine fled to the United States to avoid religious persecution. By 1924 when the United States government passed laws limiting the number of immigrants, there were 2-1/2 million East European Jews in the United States.

Previously it was noted that religious prejudice revived with an increase in the number of Catholic immigrants to the United States. There was also Anti-Semitism with the increase in Jewish immigration.

In the latter part of the nineteenth century immigration shifted to Central Europe. Here there were large numbers of Jews. Much of Central Europe at that time was under the Czars of Russia. The Jews were persecuted in Europe. Christians who hated Jews immigrated to the United States. They brought with them their Anti-Semitic feelings. This immigration not only gave the Jews a new home in the United States, but many of the old prejudices toward the Jews were also nourished here. Just as many notable Americans were tainted with Anti-Catholicism, so were many Americans tainted with Anti-Semitism. The first major outbreak of Anti-Semitism occurred after World War I. At the same time, there was an increase in Anti-Semitism in Europe. The 1920s also saw a revival of the Ku Klux Klan, which included Anti-Semitism among its many prejudices.

The triumph of Hitler in Germany brought a renewal of Anti-Semitism in the United States. In 1939 there were only 8,300 members of the German-American Bunds. This Nazi directed group had 80 active cells. They were violently Anti-Semitic. In addition, there were many Nazi, Anti-Semitic front organizations. One of the best known was the so-called Christian Front which centered around Father C. E. Coughlin of Royal Oak, Michigan. In his radio talks and publication Social Justice he used familiar Anti-Semitic phrases.

The work of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, organized in 1928, has done much to combat Anti-Semitism. The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, a Jewish Organization, actively fights all forms of prejudice.

Today the United States is home to the largest Jewish community in the world--almost 6 million. They are concentrated in the cities and are mainly found in business and the professions. There are various groups of Jews, such as Reformed, Conservative, and Orthodox. They vary in the extent to which they follow traditional practices. They are also different movements, such as the Hasidic, a piestic movement. The two major rites in the United States are the Sephardic (Spanish) and Ashkenazim (German). Judeo-German, or Yiddish, was formerly the Principal language of the Ashkenazim. Yiddish is a form of medieval German written in Hebrew characters. Today Jews in the United States give much financial support to Israel. But they like other religious groups in the United States, are loyal Americans.

Anti-Protestantism in Mexico

Prior to the Constitution of 1857, the only church permitted in Mexico was the Roman Catholic Church. Religious toleration after 1857 was required by law but was not practiced by the people. The clergy remained violently opposed to the introduction of Protestant sects. They also appear to have encouraged, or at least tolerated, violence against Protestant missionaries and converts. The attitude of the clergy was expressed thus in 1848. "The country should close its doors to Protestants . . . as a city would exclude persons with contagious disease." In 1864 the Papal Nuncio expressed the view that all cults other than Roman Catholic should be excluded.

After the Revolution of 1910 and enactment of the Constitution of 1917, the clergy did not change its anti-Protestant attitude. The clergy used such terms as "atheistic," "Bolshevik," "Masonic," "Protestant," and "socialistic" to apply to ideas not endorsed by the church. Priests sometimes aroused parishioners against teachers and labor organizers by calling them "Protestant." Thus in the decade of the 1920s there was an increase in anti-Protestant feeling in Mexico. At the same time, there was an increase in anti-Catholic activity in the United States. Neither country has been free from religious bigotry and intolerance.

Today there are a number of other Christian churches in Mexico. There is also a Jewish population. Together, however, they account for only about 2 per cent of the Mexican population. Mexicans now seem to be less hostile to other religions than they were before the Revolution of 1910. But after half a century of government inspired secularism, Mexico remains a Catholic country.

Political Role of the Church

Section Organizer

A big difference in the Roman Catholic Church in Mexico and the various churches in the United States had to do with politics. This was true both before and after the two countries became independent. In Mexico, the Roman Catholic Church was a state church, and Mexico, as part of Spain, was a Catholic state. The only religion permitted was the Roman Catholic. And the king had the right to appoint priests and other church officials. The church was the religious arm of the state, and the church men were, in effect, employees of the king. The Spanish Inquisition was set up in Mexico in 1571. This was a special court the Spanish king used to keep his subjects loyal to him and to the Catholic church. In the first years of the struggle for Mexican independence, the high church officials remained loyal to the king. Then it looked as if they might lose some of their privileges. The high church officials then helped Mexico gain its independence. But they did so to keep their privileges, not because they believed in the people having a democratic form of government. For a hundred years, much of the history of Mexico is a story of some Mexicans trying to get the church out of politics. It was not until Calles became President in 1926 that the Roman Catholic Church was forced out of politics.

By the time British settlement began in America, England had broken away from the Catholic Church. Finally under Elizabeth a separate state church was set up, called the Church of England. It kept some of the Catholic form but was more Protestant in its ideas. But many people wanted to "purify" worship and thought even more. These people are known as Puritans. There were also people who wanted to break away completely from the Church of England. They are known as Separatists. All those who disagreed with the Church of England were called Dissenters.

Many of these dissenting Protestant as well as Catholic groups could not worship without interference in England. They started some of the British colonies (Separatists, Plymouth; Puritans, Massachusetts Bay; Quakers, Pennsylvania; Catholics, Maryland). The English kings let them start colonies, so long as they were loyal to England. Now it is important to understand that many of those who came for religious reasons came to practice their own faith;

they did not believe in religious liberty. Sometimes they set up church governments, as in Massachusetts Bay. People who disagreed with them were persecuted.

But as different Protestant groups came to the colonies, the idea began to develop that a man's politics and his religion should not get mixed up. The Baptists in particular believed in the separation of church and state, and wanted to get rid of established churches supported by taxes. They wanted churches to be voluntary associations of people who had similar views.

After the United States became independent, the Church of England was at once disestablished. How could an independent state have as its head the king of the country they were fighting against? The Church of England was reorganized in the United States as the Episcopal Church. The Puritan branch of the Church of England in Massachusetts had finally set itself up as the Congregational Church. It was harder to disestablish. But the Constitution of the United States had set out the principle of separation of church and state. This idea eventually was to help make the Roman Catholic Church the biggest denomination in the United States. Immigrants from Catholic countries after independence could freely come to the United States. They could openly worship as Catholics. In the nineteenth century the Roman Catholic Church grew very rapidly. It grew rapidly, in part, because of the separation of church and state and the idea of religious liberty that grew out of the idea of Protestant diversity--having many different Protestant churches.

Independence did not get the church out of politics in Mexico. It may have made the church even more important in politics. The Mexican government had less experience in administration than the Catholic Church. At first there was no desire to permit religious liberty in Mexico. The earliest constitution of Mexico was the one that Morelos had drawn up by the Congress of Chilpancingo in 1813. This constitution said that the Roman Catholic faith was the state religion. Morelos, like Hidalgo, was a secular priest in the Catholic Church. It was not until 1857 that a Mexican Constitution provided for freedom of worship. But for three centuries the people of Mexico had only had the Catholic Church. They were taught that all other Christians should be kept out of the country. Permitting other religions to come into Mexico has not had a big influence. Almost all Mexicans are still Catholic. Mexicans have clung to their long heritage of religious uniformity.

Political Role of the Church

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, there was no separation of church and state in Europe. There was only one Christian church--the Roman Catholic Church. The clergy supported the crown, i.e., the government. At that time all the governments were headed by kings or princes. In turn, the princes supported the clergy. Throughout the Middle Ages into modern times, there had been efforts of the kings to get more control over the church through the appointment of officials.

The Protestant Reformation did not bring about religious toleration or get Protestant churches out of politics. In England, a state national church--the Church of England--was established. In many German states, Lutheranism became the national church. And, in those countries that remained Catholic, the Catholic Church became, in effect, the national church. During the colonial period, the Catholic Church was the national church of Mexico as well as Spain. In the British Colonies, the Church of England was the main established church.

But two important differences in the colonial period between Mexico and the United States had a big influence after independence. One had to do with religious diversity and uniformity. In the British Colonies, there were many Protestant churches. In Mexico, there was only one church--the Catholic Church. It was therefore easy to accept the idea in the United States that the state and the church should be separate. In this way, the various churches could exist side by side. But it was different in Mexico. Here the people were used to the idea of there being only one church. To be Mexican also meant being Catholic. The first Mexican Constitution made the Roman Catholic Church the only allowed church in Mexico. In contrast, the Bill of Rights to the United States Constitution of 1787 provides "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof ...."

Another difference was in the matter of wealth and other clerical privileges. In Mexico, the church had come to own much of the national wealth of the country. It was used for the benefit of the few. After independence in Mexico, many church men wanted to keep their wealth and special privileges. Among these was control over education.

In the United States, the various churches did not become wealthy in the colonial period. Most of the Protestant churches had a congregational organization--each individual group of church members formed a congregation which governed themselves. They employed a preacher, fixed his salary, and collected money from voluntary contributions. Even where there was an established Church, such as the Anglican, the amount of tax support was very low. In many places it was so little that there was not enough money to maintain enough priests.

Church history in Mexico after independence in 1829 is largely a story of the attempt of the church to keep its special political place in the life of the country. It was not until the end of the 1920s that the political role of the Roman Catholic Church in Mexico was destroyed. The Cristero Movement was the last major religious challenge to the new secular government set up under the Constitution of 1917. In the United States, religious ideas have influenced political developments. Since religion and politics are both part of the culture of a people, it is not possible to keep them apart in the minds of men. But religious involvement in politics through church organizations has been unusual in the United States. This section, therefore, is mainly about the political role of the church in Mexico. Massachusetts and Utah are the two areas where organized religion had a major political role. Under the first charter of Massachusetts, the government was similar to a theocracy--political life had to conform to the ideal of the Puritans who controlled the colony. Two hundred years later the Mormons established a theocracy in Deseret. This was continued when Utah became a United States' territory. The head of the church--Brigham Young--was appointed governor of the territory. Today 70 per cent of the population of Utah are Mormon. Indirectly, therefore, the ideas of the Mormon Church have a great influence on the state, although Mormons are members of both major political parties--Republican and Democratic.

The Wealth of the Church

Over the centuries, the Roman Catholic Church in Mexico accumulated great wealth. This was acknowledged by friends of the church as well as its enemies. A supporter of the church in Mexico was the conservative historian Lucas Alaman. He estimated that by the end of the colonial period half of the wealth in Mexico was in the hands of the church. An example is the ownership of houses. According to the Mexico City register of houses in 1790, there were 3,387 houses. Of these, 1,935 were church owned. But only 223 were assigned to educational or charitable purposes.

Many of the high church offices had big incomes while many parish priests could only barely get a living. In 1800, the Archbishop of Mexico had a yearly income of $130,000 (Mexican); some bishops had incomes of about a $100,000 (Mexican).

The worst thing about the great wealth of the church was that it was not used for the benefit of the masses of the people. It was used to support a few people in great luxury. The convent of the Concepcion was one of the wealthiest convents in Mexico City. Shortly before the Reform of 1857, it supported only 36 nuns but owned 132 properties. There were 79 servants in the convent.

Visitors to Mexico never tired of describing the splendor of the churches and ceremonies. The lighted tapers often made the gilded walls sparkle--and reveal the beggars and Indians in ragged clothes and bare feet.

The wealth of the church and its many privileges helped make it a friend of the wealthy and privileged.

In contrast to Mexico, the various churches in the United States did not become wealthy. It is true that in the colonial period there were established churches in many of the colonies. The established church was supported by taxes. But the taxes were voted by the people. The taxpayers were just as jealous of paying the clergy a lot of money as they were paying elected officials. Thus even where the Congregational or the Church of England was established, the ministers had a small income. In the other colonies, the churches were supported by voluntary contributions. Giving was left entirely to the individual. In most cases, church support during the colonial period was on the stingy rather than on the generous side.

The English who came to the colonies also were against the church owning property. Henry VIII had seized church lands and given it to his friends. He destroyed the independent wealth of the church. The English political leaders wanted a national church, not an independent church. Thus it was not the custom to make large endowments to churches in the colonies.

The churches in the United States did not have any special privileges to protect after independence. Thus religious controversy in the United States did not have the same political significance it had in Mexico. In Mexico, from 1810 to 1927, the church was involved in politics. Much of the fighting in Mexico for a century was to separate church and state.

Mexico

As a result of various concessions made by the Pope to the Kings of Spain, the Roman Catholic Church became, in effect, the Spanish National Church. No other church was tolerated. Political dissent was not treated as merely a political matter, but also as a religious matter. Hidalgo and Morelos, two priests who led the early independence movement, were both excommunicated. They were not excommunicated because of their religious ideas. They were excommunicated because they dared to lead a movement to free Mexico from Spanish rule.

Then the church in Mexico reversed itself. When it looked as if their privileges would be taken away under a new Spanish government, they helped plan the revolution of 1821 that brought independence to Spain. But the church support for independence was not to separate church and state; it was mainly so the clergy could keep their many special privileges--land, income, trial by canon law, censorship of thought, control of education.

When independence came to Mexico in 1821, the church was strong in two ways. It was wealthy, and it could finance armies and men to support it. It also had the greatest amount of experience in administration.

For the first quarter century the Conservative Party in Mexico was mostly in control of the government. The conservatives were led by the clergy. Finally the Liberal Party under the leadership of Benito Juarez won. The party made a new Constitution of 1857. A series of laws were passed which permitted freedom of religion, made tithes voluntary, took away the right of trial by clergy in criminal cases, and provided for the sale of church lands.

The clergy helped lead a rebellion. They even helped bring in a foreign prince, Maximilian, as emperor. Then they turned against Maximilian when he tried to keep some of the reforms of Juarez.

After the death of Juarez in 1872, the church helped to bring in Diaz as President. Diaz became dictator of Mexico. But he rewarded the church for its help by letting it resume many of its old privileges. In turn, the church helped maintain the social order in Mexico in favor of the few.

When the Revolution of 1910 began, the people were not against the church. But the church sided with the old politicians and tried to keep the revolution from being successful. As a result, the Constitution of 1917 was very

anti-church in its provisions. The Constitution of 1917:

Prohibited any church to run primary schools;
Made primary instruction secular. (Art. 3)
Forbade monastic orders. (Art. 5)
Provided for religious liberty, but required people to practice their faith in their home or public places of worship. (Art. 24)
Made all church property national property.
Took away charities from church supervision.
Took away the right of churches to own real estate or make loans. (Art. 27)
Gave state legislatures the right to limit the number of ministers of any creed.
Required ministers to be Mexicans by birth.
Prohibited ministers from voting or holding public office.
Forbade ministers to criticize the government. (Art. 130)
Forbade political assemblies in churches.
Prohibited religious publications from commenting on political matters. (Art. 130)
Required a license from the government to dedicate a new church building. (Art. 130)
Prohibited ministers from inheritances from individuals with whom they were not related. (Art. 130)

These provisions were an extension of the anti-clerical provisions of the Constitution of 1857. The provisions of the Constitution of 1857 were to get the church out of politics. They had not worked. The provisions of the Constitution of 1917 put the church under the state.

Many of the provisions of the Constitution of 1917 were not carried out at first. For example, the government did not have enough teachers for secular schools so the church continued to run primary schools and teach religion. There were not enough native Mexican priests so many priests of foreign birth continued to work in the country.

But many of the clergy continued to be outspoken against the revolution. They were not only against the government's religious policies. They were against the government's policy of land reform. They were against the government forming labor unions.

Then in 1926 the Archbishop of Mexico formally attacked the Constitution of 1917. The government under President Calles forced the priests to register and deported foreign priests. The church instructed the priests not to have

services rather than register. The priests went on strike. All religious services stopped on July 26, 1926. (Except at the Shrine of the Virgin of Guadalupe.) It was not until June 20, 1929 that the churches were reopened after a compromise was made which had the Pope's blessing.

This period was also accompanied by organized attacks against the government. Trains were attacked and burned, schools destroyed, and teachers shot. By 1927, however, the Cristero Rebellion, as it is called, was crushed.

The Roman Catholic Church in Mexico no longer has the political influence that it had in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. But it appears to have maintained a firm place in the life of Mexico. Only a small proportion of the population, however, are practicing Catholics--probably about 15 per cent.

United States

In the colonial period, the church had a big political influence in two places--Massachusetts Bay and in Plymouth. The influence of the church was just as great as was ever found in Mexico. Here, for a short period, there existed what amounted to a theocracy. The only people that were permitted to participate in the government were members of the Puritan Church. Ministers exercised influence in civil as well as religious affairs. Massachusetts Bay was, in particular, noted for an intolerance that matched the Catholic attitude toward Protestants (See "Religious Intolerance"). In 1684 Massachusetts Bay lost its charter and was later issued a new charter as a royal colony.

Another place where the church and government was very much the same was in Utah. Here the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormon) had begun a separate state when the area was part of Mexico. It was called Deseret. This is a word from the Book of Mormon which means honeybee. It signified industry. And the hardworking Mormons developed the country very rapidly. Like the New Englanders of the seventeenth century, the Mormons lived mainly in towns. From the towns they went out to work their outlaying farms. Living in towns together made it easier to follow their religious ideas and to educate their children. Mormonism has made Utah a state different in many ways from other western states. At first, there was no difference in the political government and in the religious government. Even after Utah became a territory and a state, Mormonism continued to be very important in the area. Most of the people belong to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

The role that the clergy in Mexico filled in bringing about independence in the British colonies was played by lawyers. The early efforts of the new states to separate church and state were reaffirmed in the Bill of Rights to the national Constitution of 1787. The American clergy had played no dominant political role for or against independence. The churches had no privileges to protect, except the right to worship without interference. Consequently, the political development of the United States in the nineteenth century was not marred by the religious controversy that kept Mexico in upheaval for over a century.

Religion in Mexico and the United States Today

Section Organizer

Mexicc and the United States are both Christian countries. Mexico is mainly Roman Catholic in faith. Ninety-eight per cent of the population are Catholic but only about fifteen per cent are active church members. Some Indian influence can be seen in the practice of the Catholic religion in Mexico, especially in the country and in Indian-speaking areas.

The church and government have gotten along much better in Mexico since World War II than before. The government has grown stronger while religion is not as important to many people as it once was.

Feast days and religious celebrations are still celebrated in Mexico. These events make life in Mexico different from life in the United States.

In the United States, most people claim to believe in some religion. Many different churches exist in this country. Most people are Protestants although the Catholic Church is the largest single denomination.

Court decisions regarding the separation of church and state have limited the practice of religion in the public schools.

Secularism is evident in the United States. Many people use weekends for recreation or for shopping and do not attend church. In contrast, the number of churches and amount of financial support for churches is increasing.

Church belief in the United States tends to be more fundamental and evangelical than rational. These fundamental beliefs have slowed scientific thought in the public schools. Evolution, for example, is seldom taught below the college level because it's explanation of origin of species is different from the explanation of creation given in the Bible.

Churches still tend to be unofficially segregated according to race in the United States. This is probably because a church is part of the culture and desegregation is limited in our culture.

There are still religious prejudices in the country although this may be lessening in some respects.

Religion in Mexico and the United States Today

Mexico and the United States are both Christian countries. Mexico remains strongly Roman Catholic in faith. Ninety-eight per cent of the population are Catholic in name. However, it is said that only about one-eighth of the population are actually practicing church members. This is also a problem in the United States and throughout the world.

In northern Mexico Spanish influence is greatest. Here and in the large cities orthodox Mexican Catholicism is found. In the country areas and mainly-Indian speaking areas, there are many evidences of Indian influence.

Since World War II, the church and government have gotten along much better in Mexico than after the Revolution. Both church officials and government officials are more moderate in their attitude. Three reasons help to explain this.

As the years have passed, the national government in Mexico has become stronger. The Revolution is over half a century old. Old enemies have died and old fights forgotten. The church and the government are both trying to confront the problems of a new society. The consolidation of the power of the government has made it possible for the state to be more tolerant of the church as an organized institution. The government no longer feels threatened by the strength of the church.

There also has been a change in the way the church gets its support. During the nineteenth century, the church became in the minds of the people a part of the small *hacendado*-industrial class. It was dependent upon that class for financial support. Now there is a growing middle class. The church gets support from more people. It no longer has to depend upon a small, wealthy class to get support.

A third reason is that the change in church personnel has made the Catholic Church in Mexico more Mexican in its orientation. Even after the Revolution, the Catholic Church was staffed largely by foreign priests. These priests were often conscientious, but they did not look at things the same way Mexicans did. Expulsion of the foreign priests gave Mexicans a chance to control the church in Mexico. The church could be Catholic in thought and form but Mexican in the way it looked at the life of the people.

Another thing came about throughout Latin America that became of general concern to the Roman Catholic Church. This was the expansion of Communism. Communism is usually anti-religious. The Mexican government was anti-clerical, that is, against the political interference of the clergy. But it was not anti-religious or anti-Catholic. The Catholic Church therefore thought it was better to use its energies against Communism than against the Mexican government. Many of the social reform objectives of the Mexican government also came to be part of the social reform approved of by the Vatican.

In this respect, it might be said that in both political and religious matters Mexico has grown up. It took over a century for Mexico to find a political system which would work in a democratic fashion for the country. To do this it also had to break off the church practices which suited a Medieval but not a modern state.

Perhaps the main reasons for a more moderate relationship between church and state in Mexico is that religion is not as important as it once was. Mexico now shares in a scientific, technological society. The modern Mexican feels, as people in other countries, that he is in control of the forces of nature. He no longer feels subject to them. And thus he may feel that religion is less important.

In Mexico, the mass of people are still faithful to their feast days and celebrations. The faithful still parade their saints and observe customary practices. These traditional religious observances make life in Mexico different from the United States. But these old practices have little affect on the building of a modern, industrial state. The political leaders of today are not concerned with religious advice. They belong, as administrators in other countries, to the new generation of technocrats. They take their guidance from production figures, not from the clergy. But in this way Mexico is no different from the United States.

In the United States, a majority of the people are affiliated with some church group. According to claims of church membership, the largest denominations in the United States are:

Roman Catholic Church	48,215,000
Southern Baptist Convention	11,628,000
United Methodist Church	10,672,000
National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc.	5,500,000
Jewish Congregations	5,870,000
Lutheran Church in America	3,106,844
Episcopal Church	3,286,000
Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod	2,789,000
National Baptist Convention of America	2,689,000
American Lutheran Church	2,544,000
Churches of Christ	2,400,000
United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.	3,087,000
Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints	2,073,000

Altogether, the Baptists number over 25 million, but there are some 18 different Baptist associations, some with less than a hundred thousand members.

Americans pride themselves on their religious tolerance. Judged against other countries, the various sects in the United States have been relatively tolerant. Outbreaks of Anti-Semitism and Anti-Catholicism, however, sometimes do occur.

The basic American principle of separation of church and state has been strengthened by Supreme Court decisions dealing with religion and the schools. A state may not compel a child to attend a public school if his parents wish to send him to a parochial school. However, religious instruction may not be given in a public school. During the school day, released time may be given for a child to receive religious instruction outside school.

One of the traditional parts of opening school exercises has been the flag salute, Bible reading, and saying the Lord's Prayer. Some people believe that the flag salute is a violation of religious conscience. In such a case, as with Jehovah's Witnesses, children may not be required to salute the flag as a condition of school attendance. Nor can Bible reading or prayers be made a part of school exercises. This latter prohibition is often ignored where most people believe there ought to be Bible reading and prayer in the schools.

There is an increase in secularism in the United States. People like to enjoy themselves on the weekends. There appears to be a decrease in religious emphasis. Many stores

are open that once were closed on Sundays. Church attendance that once was supposed to set Sunday apart from other days in the week is said to be falling off. Yet at the same time the number of churches and the amount of financial support for churches grows. On the whole, church membership is taken seriously in the United States compared to other countries. Public recognition of the importance of religion is in the Pledge of Allegiance, which now includes the phrase "one nation, under God."

Church belief in the United States tends to be orthodox and fundamental. Unitarianism in the philosophic rationalism of Deism in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries did not have much appeal. Evangelicalism had a much greater appeal. The Protestant churches that grew large in membership had more emphasis on conversion than on theological ideas. In the twentieth century, the movement toward Modernism was met by a strong counter movement of Fundamentalism. In the twentieth century Protestant churches which have grown the most tend to be more Fundamental than Modern in their outlook. Probably a majority of Protestants still believe in the literal interpretation of the Bible. One result is seen in science teaching in the public schools. At one time it was against the law in some states to teach the principles of evolution. A century has passed since the publication of Darwin's Origin of the Species. Students in American schools rarely study evolution until the college level. One reason is that the explanation of origin of species by evolution is different from the explanation of creation given in the Bible. Religious views of people in the United States do serve to check what may be taught as scientific thought in the public schools.

Many distinguished church men are leaders in social reform. But a church is a part of the culture. When this is kept in mind, it is easy to understand why it has been difficult for churches to desegregate, especially where they have a congregational emphasis. Even after American churches have been officially desegregated, many have maintained their separate Negro and white churches. This is because the members keep their old ways.

At one time, it was easy to excite Protestants by talking about the Pope taking over the country. Anti-Catholicism is not as strong as it once was. There still continues to be a strong Anti-Semitic feeling. To combat prejudice, ethnic as well as religious, the Jewish community maintains a large educational organization. This is the Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai B'rith.

Critics of religion in the United States sometimes express the view that people who belong to churches don't

seem to be better than those who do not belong to a church. In reply it is said that being a member of a church does not guarantee perfection. It is a recognition that people need God's help to live better.

People in the United States may be more irenic in their approach to religion. The term "irenic" refers to the fact that people look for good in other religions. When people feel strongly that only their own church is the only church, they are often intolerant of other religions. Some willingness to compromise and see good in different religions seems necessary to religious tolerance. A good example of the irenic spirit is the Second Vatican Council which met in the early 1960s. It tried to make the Catholic Church more related to modern conditions. One good result has been a more relaxed attitude toward Protestants, and Protestants toward Catholics. While Catholics did not give up any of their religious principles, the idea that Protestants are heretics was modified. This had helped foster better feelings between members of these two great wings of the Christian church.

Religion still continues to exert a great influence in the lives of people of the United States. Religion is an important part of the culture. In addition to regular church membership, popular evangelists often have a great following. One of the most popular ones in the United States today is Billy Graham.

Chapter VI

LAND TENURE, LABOR, AND INCOME IN MEXICO AND THE UNITED STATES

Chapter Organizer

Land tenure refers to the ownership and control of land. In the Indian period, Indians owned land collectively as a tribal group. But the rights of individuals to use land was inherited. This old approach to land tenure is used in modern Mexico under the *ejido* system.

Different ways of using land developed in Mexico and the United States during the Colonial Period. In Mexico, the Spanish favored giving much land, both under the *encomienda* and *hacienda* systems, to a few large landholders. Two things helped the Spanish graft their systems on to Mexico - a large Indian farming population, and the Indian custom of required work. Land and labor policy in Mexico favored the development of a small, wealthy class and a very large class of poor workers. This policy did not change until after the Revolution of 1910.

In the United States, in contrast, small amounts of land were sold to many farmers. The family farm was the usual farm. In the South, there were large plantations worked by slaves. But even here family farms greatly outnumbered plantations. After Independence, the government sold land and small farms at a cheap price. Finally, land was given away to people who would settle, or make a homestead, on it. This policy helped to distribute wealth and create a large middle class in the United States.

During the Colonial Period, there was slavery in both Mexico and the United States. But the presence of a large, Indian working force did not require Mexicans to bring in large numbers of Africans as slaves. Slavery never became economically important in Mexico. The small Negro population has become part of the total Mexican population. Mexican slaves were freed in 1829.

In the United States slavery became very important in the economy and became an important political issue. The Civil War of the United States was fought over differences that largely grew out of slavery. Slaves in the southern states were made free by the war. Today, the Negro in the United

States continues to be an important political force as well as a separate ethnic group.

In the twentieth century, the size of farms in Mexico have become smaller. The size of farms in the United States have grown larger. At the end of the Diaz regime in 1911, almost all of the farm workers of Mexico were landless. The lack of land was a major reason why the farmers supported the Revolution of 1910. As a result of the Revolution, Mexico began a system of buying land from the large landowners and distributing it in small lots to farmers. In the *ejido* system, title to the land is held by the government. The right to use the land may be an individual right in a family. Or it may be a collective right in a village. Inheritance of the right to use land has made the size of Mexican farms grow smaller.

In the United States, on the other hand, the size of farms has grown larger. Most farms in the United States are big farms. They use much machinery, fertilizer, and insecticides to produce a large surplus. As a result, only a very small part of the labor force of the United States is employed in agriculture. Most workers in Mexico still work on the farm.

Industrialization began much earlier in the United States than in Mexico. As a result, incomes and the taxable wealth to support goods and services is much higher today in the United States than in Mexico. But both countries went through similar periods of treating labor badly--low wages, lack of labor benefits, and lack of labor organization. Although the industrial development of the United States was much ahead of Mexico, the United States did not attempt to pass laws to help workers until the depression years of the 1930s. The socially minded government of Mexico, under the Constitution of 1917, has been trying to help its workers. Compared to the United States, a small part of the labor force of Mexico works in industry. However, there are some areas of Mexico which are highly industrialized, such as Mexico City.

Latifundismo is a term which is often applied to economic systems in which the many are exploited by the few. It is typically found in countries where a small class controls almost all the land and there is a large landless class. Mexico was a classic example of *latifundismo* during the Diaz regime. But the term can also be applied to an attitude of mind which looks down on useful work and thinks the government should support the wealthy. In this sense *latifundismo* is also found in modern Mexico and the United States. But labor in both Mexico and the United States enjoys privileges which were unheard of in the nineteenth century, such as higher wages and social security benefits.

Revolution in government and modernization in agriculture and industry have brought many changes in the systems of land tenure and labor in Mexico and the United States. As industrialization increases, the more the economic system of Mexico will become like the economic system of the United States. Contrasts between Mexico and the United States in economic ways will be less marked.

Chapter VI

LAND TENURE, LABOR, AND INCOME IN MEXICO AND THE UNITED STATES

For most of their histories, Mexico and the United States were agricultural countries. Today, 35 percent of the Mexican labor force is employed in agriculture compared to 5 percent in the United States.

The United States industrialized more rapidly than Mexico and workers have higher incomes in the United States than in Mexico. The English heritage of the United States contributed to this early industrialization.

Mexico is industrializing more slowly than the United States and workers have lower incomes in that country than in the United States. The agricultural heritage of Mexico comes from its Aztec heritage as well as from its Spanish heritage.

Land Tenure and Labor Before European Contact

Land tenure refers to ownership and control of the land. There are several types of land tenure; public or private, individual or collective, family farm or large estate. The type of land tenure influences the system of agricultural labor.

Before European settlement, most New World land was collectively owned by a tribe and by groups within the tribe. In Mexico, several powerful tribes controlled large parts of the country. The Aztecs were the most powerful and controlled the most land. The Aztecs also controlled many other tribes. Perhaps three million Indians were under Aztec control at the time of Spanish Conquest.

In the Eastern Woodlands of the United States, there were many small tribes. There was no large and powerful tribe that controlled large areas of land and other tribes. The economy was primarily village gardening combined with hunting. Hunting lands, as with the Iroquois of New York, were owned by the tribe. Cultivated lands were owned by the oldest woman in each family. When she died, the oldest living woman in the family inherited the land.

Prior to European contact, the right to use land in Mexico and the United States was in the various Indian tribes. Land tenure was collective, rather than individual.

In Mexico, the Aztecs controlled large areas of land. In the eastern part of the United States, the land was controlled by many small tribes.

Aztecs and Eastern Woodland Indians grew crops. The Aztecs had an intensive agriculture system. They farmed their lands very carefully and in some places had irrigated fields. A special kind of island irrigation--called *chinampas*--was found near the capital city in the lake. This intensive agriculture supported a large population.

The Eastern Woodland Indians combined gardening with hunting. The women were the gardeners. This hunting-gardening economy did not support a large population.

Title to Aztec land was in the tribe. Each *calpulli*, or group within the tribe, managed its own land. Managers, called *pilli*, supervised the farm laborers, called *macehuales*. There were two types of Aztec farm land. Tribute land was used to grow crops to support chiefs and priests. Tribute land was worked by slaves and *macehuales*. The tribute system supported an upper class that did no manual work.

But every family had the right to use land and there were no large landowners. The right to use land passed from father to son within families. There was no landless class. *Milpa* is the word usually used to refer to the small fields the Indians cleared and used for their own crops.

The division of labor was different for Aztec and Eastern Woodland Indians. Division of labor is the system in which people do different jobs. The Aztecs had many different jobs. They specialized in their work. Some men farmed while others worked at jobs in villages and cities.

The Eastern Woodland Indians had a division of labor based on sex. Men hunted and fished; women raised the crops. As a result, the right to use land for gardens was in the women. The right to use the land for gardens passed to the eldest female.

Differences in division of labor and size of Indian population in Mexico and the United States influenced the development of the areas under the Spanish and English. In Mexico, where the men were farmers, the Spanish found it easier to keep the Indians working as farmers. The *macehuale* often merely changed an Indian master for a Spanish master. The Spanish *encomienda*, *repartimiento*, and *hacienda* systems were based on Indian land tenure and division of labor.

In the United States, the English could not force the Indian men to work as farmers. They ran away deeper into the woods. Two things were related to the refusal of the Indians to work as farmers. Except in the southern colonies, the farms tended to be small. A man could only farm with the labor of himself and his family. To fill the labor shortage, two types of laborers were brought in--indentured workers from England and slaves from Africa.

In contrast to the garden-hunting economy of the eastern woodlands, intensive agriculture was practiced in Mexico. This provided a surplus of food and supported a large population. In the Valley of Mexico, which is about 40 miles across, there were about two million Indians, more than in the entire United States at the time of European contact. This large population was made possible by the organized system of agricultural production used by the Aztecs.

The Aztec tribe, overlords of Mexico, directly controlled most of Central Mexico at the time of Spanish contact. The tribe consisted of twenty *calpulli*, or clans. In theory, the tribe owned all of the land, but in practice each *calpulli* had its own land and town property. *Calpulli* land was further divided into family plots, called *milpa*. The irrigated *milpa* and lake system for valley transportation, together with peace and political stability, contributed to the large population of the Valley of Mexico.

Land use was controlled by *pilli*, land managers and coordinators. Farmworkers who did the actual farm work were known as *macehuales*.

Calpulli land was divided into two types: tribute and *milpa*. Tribute is a payment made by a people to a ruler to show their submission. Crops raised on tribute land were given to *calpulli* and other tribal chiefs. A *milpa* was a plot of land which a family had a right to use, but title remained in the tribe, not in the family. Right to use a *milpa* passed from father to son. If there were no sons to inherit the use right, or if the land was not cultivated within a two-year period, the chiefs of the *calpulli* would reassign the use of the land to another family. Under this system, no family lacked land to farm and there were no large landowners. But the tribute system supported an upper class who did no manual work.

In addition to the *macehuales*, the Aztec labor force included slaves. These slaves were descendants of commoners of conquered tribes. They could be forced to do any kind of work their Aztec masters demanded. They paid no tribute and could be sold as property.

There was also an important difference in division of labor as well as land tenure between Mexican Indians and Eastern Woodland Indians. Division of labor is a system in which different people do different jobs. One person does not do everything. The Indians of Mexico had a higher level of technology than the Eastern Woodland Indians of the United States and they had a different type of division of labor. Mexican Indians specialized in their work. Some were farmers.

Others worked in the villages and towns. They did not specialize on the basis of sex. Both men and women could be farmers or could work in towns. In the less developed economy of the Eastern Woodland Indians, there was a simple division of labor based on sex. The men were the hunters and fishermen; the women raised the crops.

The division of labor and land use systems of the Indians greatly influenced the English development of the United States and the Spanish development of Mexico. In Mexico, the Indian division of labor and the tribal land tenure system was easily used by the Spanish to establish their own systems. The *encomienda*, *repartimiento*, and the *hacienda* systems were based on the Indian systems of land tenure and division of labor.

In the United States, the Indian men did not have a tradition of farmwork. This unwillingness to work on the English farms, together with the scarcity of Indian labor, made the creation of large estates impossible. It also led to the use of indenture and African slavery to solve the labor problem.

Land Tenure and Labor in Mexico in the Colonial Period

Section Organizer

The first system of land tenure and labor that the Spanish introduced into Mexico was the *encomienda*. It was a system of large estates of land and Indian labor. *Encomiendas* were granted to Spaniards. The holder of an *encomienda* was called an *encomendero*. The *encomendero* collected tribute and used Indians for labor without paying them. In return, the *encomendero* was supposed to protect, educate, and Christianize the Indians. The *encomienda* was also a system of indirect rule. Indian chiefs served the *encomendero*. They were left in power as long as they served the Spanish. Indians were not free to leave their *encomienda*.

This system was possible because the Indians of Mexico were used to farming and to paying tribute. The *macehuales* continued to obey their Indian chiefs.

The *encomienda* did not contribute to the economic development of Mexico. Much land was not put into production. It led to overwork and cruelty to the Indians. *Encomenderos* became too independent of the authority of the king.

The *repartimiento* gradually limited the exploitation of Indian labor on the *encomienda*. The *repartimiento* was a system of forced but limited Indian labor system for pay. In length of time, the *repartimiento* was first limited to one week a year. In purpose, it was limited to public works. And the Indians were supposed to be paid for their work. But as usual with Indian labor, the *repartimiento* was abused. The Spanish in Mexico ignored the laws. They worked the Indians for longer than the legal time, used them for private work, and often did not pay them. But the *repartimiento* was an improvement on the uncontrolled right of an *encomendero* to use Indians as he wished. By the end of the Colonial Period, debt peonage and free labor had almost replaced the *repartimiento*.

The *hacienda* system of land tenure became widespread after 1542. The New Laws of 1542 prohibited mention of Indians or Indian labor in land grants or wills. The New Laws also included provisions for Indian welfare.

Through debt peonage the Indians soon found themselves bound to the *haciendas* much as they had been to the *encomiendas*. The Indian workers, or peons, purchased their supplies from

the *hacienda* stores and soon went into debt. They were required to work until their debts were paid off. Most peons seemed to get deeper in debt rather than out of debt.

The largest *hacendado* in Mexico was not a private individual. It was the Roman Catholic Church. Half of the land in Mexico was owned by the Church in 1810 when the War of Independence began.

The land ownership systems of colonial Mexico concentrated wealth. They created a small, wealthy class of landowners and a large poor class of landless peons. These class differences affect Mexico even today.

Slavery played a relatively small part in the development of Mexico. Some Indians were enslaved and small numbers of Negroes were brought into the country as slaves. Slaves never had an important influence on the economic system of the country. Nor did African slaves become a large part of the population.

Free wage labor is the freedom to find a job that pays cash for work. Free wage labor was introduced into Mexico because mining and ore processing required skilled labor. Wages had to be paid to keep workers at the mines when they had finished their legal work period under the *repartimiento* Wage labor spread from the mines to other jobs in Mexico.

Throughout the Colonial Period, most workers were in agriculture. There were a few skilled workers in the towns, mostly organized in a guild or craft system. Indians were rarely able to rise higher than a skilled worker. Cotton and woolen textile manufacturing was important in colonial Mexico. Working conditions, however, were often worse than in agriculture. When Independence came to Mexico, most of the labor force was tied to the *haciendas* through debt peonage.

Land Tenure and Labor in Mexico in the Colonial Period

In colonial Mexico, agriculture was the most important part of the economy. Three ways of using Indian labor overlapped in colonial Mexico. The first was the *encomienda*, a large estate system in which the Indians were bound to the land. The second was the *hacienda*, a large estate. The development of debt peonage eventually bound Indians to the land as firmly as they had been under the *encomienda*. The *repartimiento* was a system of forced labor. Legally it was applied to private gain. Indian slavery was finally outlawed in Mexico, and African slavery was never an important part of the economy. By the end of the Colonial Period, free wage labor in the cities and mines was common. Debt peonage bound the labor force to the *hacienda*. Industrial labor, except in textiles, was not important during the Colonial Period. And here it was of the forced type. The land tenure and labor system of colonial Mexico had not contributed to the economic development of the country. It had largely helped develop a small, wealthy class.

Encomienda.

The *encomienda* system of land use was introduced into New Spain by Cortez as a means to reward his soldiers. The orders from the emperor prohibiting the use of the *encomienda* came too late, and this land-labor system became an important part of the political-economic organization in New Spain in the sixteenth century. As early as 1542, the King of Spain tried to limit inheritance of *encomienda* rights and to prevent abuse of the Indians. The *encomienda* system gradually died out and ended shortly after 1800. Independence, and the lack of heirs, rather than the efforts of the Spanish kings, brought an end to the system.

Spaniards who received *encomienda* grants were called *encomenderos*. The *encomendero* was supposed to maintain order in his area and protect, educate, and Christianize the Indians. In turn, the *encomendero* had the right to collect tribute and use the labor of the Indians. The Indians became serfs on the *encomienda* because they were not free to leave to work somewhere else. The Indians were not slaves because they could not be sold.

The *encomienda* system was possible because there was a large class of settled Indian farmers. The major change brought about by the *encomienda* was the change in land right and tribute payment. In theory, the land belonged to the Spanish crown, and the *encomendero* received tribute instead of tribute going to the king. This changed the distribution of wealth. Instead of tribute going to the Aztec *calpulli* chiefs, the money payment went to the Spanish. The Spanish upper class thus replaced the Aztec upper class, but the basis was still Indian labor. The *encomienda* system did not change some parts of the Indian culture. The Indians continued to live in their villages, farm their *milpas* and pay tribute. Indian lower chiefs kept their authority over the *macehuales* as long as they obeyed the Spanish.

Some of the *encomiendas* were very large. That of Cortez, the Marquesado del Valle, was the largest. In area it measured 22,000 square miles, an area larger than the states of New Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland. In this area there were twenty-two towns and an Indian population of over 200,000. Even a small tribute from each Indian on the large *encomiendas* made the *encomenderos* quite wealthy. The *encomienda* helped create a class of nonproductive people who lived off the labor of the Indians and gave nothing in return to work or leadership.

There were three main problems with the *encomienda*. As an economic system, it did not encourage development of the country. Many *encomenderos* did not care if all of their land was fully used. Their status and prestige came from owning the land rather than from developing it. As a social system, the *encomienda* led to overwork and cruelty to the Indians. In time, many of the worst aspects of the system were corrected. *Encomenderos* realized that live Indians who could work were more profitable than dead Indians. As a political system, the *encomienda* was too independent of the authority of the king. *Encomenderos* often ignored the king's orders and acted very much like kings themselves. As a result, the king did not like the system.

One of the Catholic religious orders, the Dominicans, did not like it either. Another order, the Franciscans, supported the *encomienda* because they felt that it was a good way of using Indian labor and protecting the Indians.

The periodic protests of the Indians about hard work, food scarcity, and high prices and the claims in the Indian Court showed that the Indians were not satisfied with the system. There were also occasional Indian uprisings, but remarkably few considering the conditions of forced labor.

Repartimiento.

In time, the *repartimiento*, a system of short-term forced labor, restricted the labor abuses of the *encomienda*. The *encomienda* often required full-time work from the Indians and did not pay them a wage. Under the *repartimiento* the Indians were guaranteed a wage for their work, although in parctice many were never paid.

At first, the Indians were required to work only one week a year on public works. They built harbors, dug mines, constructed churches, and built houses in towns and cities. The law was later changed to require the Indians to work from two to three weeks a year. This increase in required work was partly a result of the decline in the Indian labor supply. By 1600, Indians were forced to work even longer than the legal time period. In 1670, the Indian population had declined to a low of less than two million. War, forced work, and disease had taken a deadly toll.

In 1609 new laws were passed limiting the *repartimiento* to public works. This law was enacted because the *repartimiento* had been extended to private lands. Attempts to strictly enforce these laws were often ignored by the Spaniards who supervised Indian labor. Throughout the Colonial Period, private land owners forced Indians to build private homes and fences and to harvest private crops.

Hacienda and debt peonage.

The *hacienda*, a large privately owned estate, gradually replaced the *encomienda* as the major system of land tenure. A *hacienda* did not include any rights to unpaid Indian labor, nor could the *haciendado* (owner) collect tribute.

The *hacienda* system became widespread after the New Laws of 1542. They stated that no land grants or wills could mention Indians or Indian labor in any way. The laws also limited the distance an Indian could be required to carry goods. There were almost no roads in New Spain and most goods were carried on the backs of Indians. The laws also prohibited taking Indians from the cool plateaus to the tropical coastlands to work. Such transfer of labor often resulted in sickness and death.

Despite the new laws and the new land tenure system, the Indian soon found himself bound to the *hacienda* as he had been to the *encomienda*. This came about through the system of debt peonage. A peon is a worker who does not own land. A debt is something that is owed to someone. It was easy for the peon to get into debt. The *haciendado* made it easy for him to get things on credit from the *hacienda* store. To get these things, the peon signed a contract. It was signed by both parties, although the peon generally signed

with an X because he could not read or write. The contract permitted the *haciendado* to require the Indian to work for him until the debt was paid off. The *haciendado* kept the records of the costs of goods and of the payments the peon had made. The peon kept getting things from the store. His debts were never paid off and the peon was continually in bondage to work.

The private *haciendados* were not the only large land owners in Mexico. The largest *haciendado* was the Roman Catholic Church. It owned at least half the land in Mexico when the War of Independence began in 1810. It had received grants of land from the King as well as grants of Indian labor to build churches, houses, schools, hospitals, monasteries, and convents. One Catholic order owned *haciendas* which stretched from Mexico City to Tampico, a distance of more than 400 miles.

The land ownership system of the Colonial Period, consisting of a very small but wealthy class of landowners and a very large but poor class of landless peons, has affected the development of Mexico even in modern times. At the beginning of the Colonial Period, Indian villages had their own lands, and the Indians could work some lands for themselves. The land reforms of the nineteenth century made them a landless class.

Slavery.

There was two types of slavery in New Spain -- Indian and Negro. Legally, the only Indians who could be made slaves were those who rebelled against the Spanish. In the early days, this led to conquests which were no more than slave expeditions. The Spanish provoked the Indians into rebelling so they could enslave them. Eventually, Indian slavery was completely abolished.

Negro slaves were brought to New Spain almost from the time of Conquest. The number was never very large because millions of Indian laborers were available. In the sixteenth century, more than 60,000 Negro slaves were imported. During the entire Colonial Period, from 1519 to 1810, some 250,000 were brought in. Negro slavery never had an important affect on the economic system of Mexico and never became a very large part of the population as it became in the United States. By the end of the Colonial Period, Negro slavery was no longer economically important in Mexico, although it was 1829 before slavery was legally abolished.

Free wage labor.

Free wage labor is a system in which laborers are free to seek jobs where they can find them and be paid cash for their work. Outside the towns, free wage labor first developed

in the mines. Mexico has the richest silver mines in the world. At first the mines were worked with *repartimiento* labor. But mining and processing required skilled rather thna unskilled labor. Wage payments began to be made to keep workers at the mines when they had finished their legal work period, and a system of wage labor developed. Wage labor was later introduced into the sugar mills, and it became common in the cities.

By the end of the Colonial Period, free labor and debt peonage had almost completely replaced the *repartimiento*.

Non-agricultural labor.

This kind of labor is not done in agriculture. It did not make up a very large part of the labor force during the Colonial Period. Until 1960, most Mexican workers were agricultural workers. As with other colonial powers of the period, Spain did not encourage manufacturing in the colonies. Spanish workers brought with them the guild system. Under this system, workers passed through a series of training stages from apprentice to journeyman to master worker. This system of training was also found in the British colonies, and the guild (organization of workers in a particular craft) is the forerunner of the American Federation of Labor, an organization of craft unions.

Indians worked in many fields, but it was almost impossible to rise higher than a journeyman. It was difficult to become accepted as an apprentice by a Spanish master worker. The situation is not unlike that in the United States today, where Negroes find it difficult to become accepted in white-dominated unions. Most Indian work was at the unskilled level.

Textiles is one product of which Mexico manafactured and exported a surplus during the Colonial Period. To the already developed weaving of cotton textiles, the Spanish added wool manufacture. Bad working conditions kept the General Indian Court full of complaints. Working conditions were particularly bad in the wool *obraje* or small sweat shops. Here most of the labor force was made up of forced labor--purchased convicts, debtors, and the like.

When independence came to Mexico, the economic base was mainly agricultural and most of the workers were peons, bound to the soil by debt and ignorance. There was some continuation of native crafts, but their manufacture was primarily to meet local needs.

Land Tenure and Labor in Mexico Since Independence

Section Organizer

The bad living and working conditions of most of the people in Mexico contributed to the movement toward Independence. Change came slowly. Over one hundred years passed from the time that Father Hidalgo led the first Mexican revolt until conditions actually improved.

In 1857 laws were passed to sell the Church lands. As a result, Church land ended up in the hands of large private owners. The Reform laws also forced Indian villages to give up their communal or *ejido* lands. This loss was a main cause of the Revolution of 1910.

In 1911 most of Mexico's usable land was owned by only 8,000 *haciendados*. Ninety percent of rural families were landless.

In 1910 the poor revolted. This led to the passage of new laws requiring land redistribution and the modern *ejido* system of land use.

Modern *ejidos* are based on the old Aztec system of communal ownership. The government owns the land and the people have the right to use it. Millions of Mexicans have received *ejido* lands yet three-fourths of the population--38 million--is landless today. There are half as many *haciendas* in Mexico today as there were in 1917. They are much smaller now than in the past; 750 acres is the maximum size.

There are two types of *ejidos* in Mexico today--individual and collective. Ninety-eight percent of all *ejido* lands are of the individual type. They are small family plots. Two percent of the *ejido* lands are of the collective type. They are larger, produce higher yields, and are operated by groups of people, usually villages.

Over half of all Mexicans today are still farmers. Most grow only enough food to feed their families and are called subsistence farmers.

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, industrialization increased. Railroad systems and mining were expanded and the petroleum industry began. The Mexican

worker profited little from these developments. Industrial wages were kept low. Most of the profits went to foreigners who put up the money for industrialization and to Mexican businessmen.

The Constitution of 1917 gave workers the right to organize labor unions and to bargain collectively for higher pay and better working conditions. Many industries in Mexico are run as state corporations.

In the past thirty years there has been a tremendous expansion of industry in Mexico. About one-fourth of the Mexican labor force is urban and about three-fourths of this group works in industry.

Most Mexicans earn very little money. In 1971 the average was $530 per year. People in the Federal District, which includes Mexico City and surrounding lands, earn twice as much as the people in the rest of the country.

Laws have been passed recently that increased the minimum worker's wage. Salaries are still quite low in Mexico compared with these in the United States. Mexicans, just as people in the United States, want better houses, education, medical care, and other good things of life.

Land Tenure and Labor in Mexico Since Independence

In 1810 began the series of moves for independence and political conflict which created problems in Mexico for over half a century. During the nineteenth century there was an increase in the number of large estates and laborers experienced poor working conditions in industry. Since the Revolution of 1910, an *ejido* small farm system has gradually replaced large estates; labor has been organized; and social security care and medical assistance provided to part of the population, especially those living in the federal district.

Expansion of the *hacienda* system.

Father Hidalgo, a Creole priest, began the movement toward independence to get better living conditions for the people. Over a hundred years passed before conditions were actually improved.

It was not until 1856 that laws were passed which attempted to break up the large estates, especially those of the Church. The forced sale of Church lands under the Reform Constitution of 1857 did not have the desired effect of increasing the number of small landholders. Most Church land ended up in private hands, with the result that land was often less well managed than previously. The land reform laws also forced the Indian villages to sell their communal or *ejido* lands. This loss of land was one of the principal causes of the Revolution of 1910.

Toward the end of the Diaz regime in 1911, most of Mexico's usable land was owned by 8,000 *haciendados*. Ninety percent of rural families were without land. Mexico was a land of extreme contrasts of wealth and poverty. Many rich *haciendados* seldom saw their estates. They lived in the cities or even in Europe. They lived in beautiful mansions, and lived like wealthy Europeans. Millions of peons, who were very poor, supported these wealthy *haciendados*.

Land and liberty became a slogan of the revolting masses in 1910, especially among the Indian followers of Zapata. A 1915 government decree required that *haciendas* be divided among the millions of landless people. While the law had little practical effect--money was not appropriated to buy the estates and re-distribute the land--it led to Article 27 of the Constitution of 1917. This article legally established the modern *ejido* system of land use. It was not until after 1930, however, that large acreages were offered to the people in the form of *ejidos*.

The *ejido* system.

The *ejido* system is not new to Mexico. It is based on the old Aztec system of communal ownership and *milpa* use. In the modern *ejido*, communal ownership is represented by the

government; the right to use part of the land is an inheritable right, as with the .

Most *ejidos* are made of former *haciendas*. The first modern *ejidos* were established in 1922. Although three million Mexicans have received *ejido* lands, three-fourths of the Mexican population--38 million--is landless today. *Ejidos* have not replaced all *haciendas*. there are still half as many *haciendas* today as in 1917, although they are much smaller than in the past. By law, they are now limited to a maximum size of 750 acres.

The term *ejido* is confusing because it is applied to individual farms and to collective farm *ejidos*. An individual farm *ejido* is one in which a family has the right to use assigned land. The right to use the land can be inherited, but the land cannot be sold or mortgaged. At first, each family received an *ejido* of from 10 to 50 acres. In 1970 the average size was about five acres. This decrease of *ejido* size has come about through inheritance. An *ejiditario's* sons inherit the right to use part of the land, and the acreage is divided. Small plots cannot be farmed efficiently, and lower crop yeilds often result. Ninety-eight percent of all *ejido* lands, however, are individual *ejidos*.

The second kind of *ejido* is the collective. Only two percent of all *ejido* lands are of the collective type. In the collective *ejido* individual families are not allotted land, but the land is worked collectively by a group of *ejiditarios* and they share in the profits.

Collective *ejidos* have the advantage of offering larger acreages and thus permits the use of modern machinery and equipment. Trained farm managers provide better supervision, and collective *ejidos* generally produce higher yeilds than the same amount of land operated as individual *ejidos*. The preference for the individual *ejido* came from some of the early experience with the collective *ejidos*. Dishonest record keepers falsified the records and cheated the *ejiditarios*. This caused a demand for division into individual *ejidos*. Whether individual or collective, a system of national credit, similar to special government banks for farmers in the United States, is available to the *ejiditario*.

Non-agricultural labor and income.

From the time of the Aztecs until today, most of Mexico's population earns its living from the land. Sixty percent of the population today are subsistence farmers. Subsistence farmers raise enough food for their own families but have little or none left over to sell.

During the last century, however, there has been considerable industrialization. In the latter part of the nineteenth century, when Diaz was President, there was a rapid expansion of the railroad system, development of mining, and beginning of the petroleum industry. Because industrial wages were diliberately kept low, the Mexican worker profited l ttle from this development. Most of the profits from his land and labor went to foreigners who put up the money for industrialization and to their Mexican business partners.

The Constitution of 1917 brought new rights to the Mexican industrial worker as well as to the farmer. It gave them the right to organize labor unions and to bargain collectively for higher pay and better working conditions. It even gave them the right to strike and to receive sick pay--wages paid when one cannot work because of illness. Labor unions are not independent of the government. They are semi-government agencies by which the government influences labor and labor influences government. The first labor union was the Confederaction Regional Obrera Mexicana (CROM). It was replaced in 1936 by the Confederacion de Trabajadores Mexicanos (CTM). At one time in the 1930s Mexico experimented with worker control of the petroleum industry and with the railroads. These are now, however, run as state corporations.

In the last thirty years, there has been a tremendous expansion of Mexican industry. So much industry is concentrated in the Valley of Mexico that the once clear valley air is heavily polluted with smoke, gas, and chemicals. About one-fourth of the Mexican labor force is urban. Three-fourths of these city workers are employed in industry.

Income.

Mexican income still lags far behing that of the United States. An income comparison between the United States and Mexico is a comparison between a highly industrialized country and an agricultural country in which most of the workers are subsistence farmers. The Mexican farmer, unlike the farmer in the United States, primarily raises food for his family and has little left over to sell.

Per capita income in Mexico in 1971 wss $530. Most Mexicans did not earn that much. Per capita income is found by dividing the income of a country by the number of people in the country.

As in any country, there are regional differences in income. The Federal District, which includes Mexico City and the region around it, is the most industrialized area of Mexico. Industrial income in any country is always

higher than agricultural wage income. The per capita income in the Federal District is twice that in other areas of the country. Income differences between Mexico and the United States are shown in the minimum wages. Effective in 1970, the minimum Mexican urban worker's wage was raised to 24.90* pesos a day. In American dollars, this is $2 a day compared with a minimum wage of $13.20 per day in the United States.

Differences in income reflect differences in the ability of a government to provide goods and services. The United States economy produces much more wealth to provide services for its people, but the needs in Mexico are just as great. The workers of Mexico, like those in the United States, want better houses and household furnishings, education, medical care, and other good things of life.

---

*One Mexican dollar = eight cents in United States money; one United States dollar = 12.5 Mexican dollars. The $ is the sign in Mexico for peso. The peso was widely known in the British colonies as a dollar. It was divided into 100 centavos. This is one reason the American Congress adopted as the new American unit of money the dollar divided into 100 cents.

Land Tenure and Labor in the United States

Section Organizer

From the earliest days of European settlement, the typical pattern of land tenure in the United States has been the family farm. Free wage labor was established in the northern colonies before the country became independent. The abundance of new land, liberal land policies, and the new arrival of European immigrants stimulated a very rapid farm and industrial development. The United States very early developed a large middle class that is just emerging in Mexico.

The land of the United States was claimed by England by right of discovery. Indian lands were usually taken without payment. The controversy over Indian land ownership is with us today in the United States.

There were very few Indians in the United States compared with Mexico. The Indians would not work for the English. This led to the establishment of small farms rather than large estates and to the use of indentured and slave labor in the English colonies. An indenture was a labor contract. People agreed to work for a specified number of years, usually four, in payment for something, often ship's passage to the colonies. At the end of the indenture, the man became free. Slaves, on the other hand, were forced to work without pay and were generally not freed. They were slaves for life and could be sold by one master to another.

Slavery discouraged European immigration to the southern colonies, encouraged agriculture rather than industrialization, and led to the Civil War. Even today, the southern states are less industrialized than the northern states largely as a result of their use of slavery in the past.

The right to slaves as property was one of the major differences between slavery in the English colonies and the *encomienda* system in New Spain. The *encomendero* could not sell his Indian workers. He had a right to their labor but not to their person as property, or chattel.

Latisfundismo is an attitude of disinterest on the part

of the wealthy toward useful and productive labor. It emphasizes privileges for the wealthy and a disregard for the rights of the working poor. This feeling still exists among some people in Mexico and the United States today.

Slavery was ended in the United States as a result of the passing of the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, but its effects were felt for many years. Today, many problems face us as a result of slavery.

Racial discrimination in Mexico was much less than in the United States.

The United States Negroes who were freed had no land and no experience in managing farms. A system grew which was little different from the debt peonage of the Mexican *hacienda*. This was the system of tenant share cropping. Share cropping was not profitable and the cropper often went into debt to the landlord. This system finally broke down after World War II.

Land was made available to people in the United States at very low cost. The government made many changes in the land laws to encourage more people to obtain farmland. Although there were exceptions, the tradition of small farms continued for over one hundred years after Independence.

In contrast to Mexico, where farm sizes have become smaller, United States farms have increased in size in recent years and are part of an industrial economy. Most farms in this country are operated as factories in the fields, rather than as family farms. Most crops are sold for cash rather than raised for family subsistence.

Mexican farm laborers, called *braceros*, legally worked in the United States between 1942 and 1964. During those same years millions of illegal Mexican workers came to this country because of higher wages.

Organized labor developed in the United States earlier than in Mexico and is well established today. Increased minimum wages, elimination of child labor, improved safety, unemployment benefits, and survivors insurance have all come about during the twentieth century. Strikes continue to be the principal weapon of labor unions to obtain higher wages.

Land Tenure and Labor in the United States

From the very earliest days, the direction of land tenure in the United States was the family farm. Although slavery persisted in the southern states until the middle of the nineteenth century, the pattern of free wage labor had been established in the northern states before the end of the Colonial Period. The abundance of new land, liberal land policies, and the new arrival of European immigrants stimulated a very rapid farm and industrial development. Although contrasts of great wealth and poverty could be found in the United States to equal any extremes found in Mexico, the dominant farming pattern came to be the family farm and the dominant worker the free, skilled laborer. The United States therefore very early developed a large middle calss which is just emerging in Mexico.

Land tenure.

England, by right of discovery, claimed the lands along the Atlantic seaboard just as Spain had claimed the lands of the Caribbean and New Spain. In turn, the English king granted to individual proprietors (Pennsylvania, New York, Maryland, New Jersey, the Carolinas) or to joint stock companies (Virginia, Massachusetts) rights to develop, politically and economically, the lands of the New World. In some cases, as with the Dutch on Manhattan Island or with William Penn in Pennsylvania, some arrangement was made with Indians and a payment made for the land. But in most cases, as with the Spaniards in Mexico, Indian land was simply taken. When Indians would not sell or move away from their lands, they were driven off or killed.

In the early part of the nineteenth century, a policy of Indian removal to lands west of the Mississippi was begun. At that time it was thought that in the West the Indians would be free to follow their own ways--and they would be safely out of the white man's way. As late as 1836, the civilized Cherokees, who had become sedentary agriculturists, were forcibly removed to Oklahoma. But time did not stand still, and soon the Indians and whites found themselves at war as the whites again reached Indian territory. The surviving Indians were placed on reservations, often only small parts of the former lands which they claimed. Today payment for Indian lands is still being claimed and argued. The Spanish in Mexico did not try to drive the Indians out. They not only wanted Indian lands, but Indian labor.

The reason that the English in the United States were less successful than the Spanish in Mexico at using Indian labor was not due to ambition, but to circumstance. There

were too few Indians in the United States, and the attempts to make them slaves proved unsuccessful. They would not work. There was no Indian labor to maintain huge estates, so the landlords--whether individual proprietor or charter company--sold land to others. Some went to land speculators, who had large estates, such as Lord Fairfax of Virginia. But most land in the English colonies went to families who had farms of from 50 to 150 acres. In time, indenture and slavery made possible the establishment of large plantations in the South. But from colonial days to the farm decline beginning in the 1940s, the typical United States farm was the family farm.

Labor shortages--indenture and slavery.

From the beginning, there was a shortage of labor. The indentured labor system was the first to be used to overcome this shortage.

An indenture was a labor contract. In an indenture, the debtor promised to perform work for an agreed upon period of time in exchange for some advance. At the end of the indenture, the person was free to work as a wage laborer or try to go into business for himself. Often there was some cash payment at the end of the indenture. The most common form of indenture in the colonies was an indenture for ship's passage to the colonies, usually for four years. Enterprising captains recruited prospective workers, executed contracts, transported the workers to the New World, and sold the contracts to farmers and businessmen. Until about 1700, most new labor in the colonies was provided by indentures. Conditions of work under the indenture system varied with the master. A cruel master could make the period of indenture little better than slavery. A kind master could make it seem nearly as good as being a free worker. Where indentured laborers worked on plantations, they often worked side by side with Negro slaves, and there was little difference in the way they were treated.

In general, slavery is a system in which people are forced to work for another without pay. A particular kind of slavery is chattel slavery. In chattel slavery, the owner does not only have a right to the labor of the slave; he also owns his body as a piece of property that can be bought and sold. Chattel slavery, never known in England, was developed in the colonies and became a major social, political, and economic institution in the United States. Chattel slavery as an institution discouraged immigration to the southern colonies and states. It discouraged the southern colonists from industrializing and from growing a wide variety of crops. It also contributed to the Civil War. Even today,

the southern states are less industrialized than the northern states largely as a result of their use of slavery in the past.

The right to slaves as property was one of the major differences between slavery in the English colonies and the *encomienda* system in New Spain. The *encomendero* could not sell his Indian workers. He had a right to their labor, but not to their person as a chattel.

Slavery was one of the ways that the English colonies, and later the southern states, maintained a labor force. Blacks were first brought into Virginia in 1619 on a Dutch ship. Although it is often said that slavery in the English colonies began in 1619, those 20 Blacks were not slaves, but were legally indentured workers. Indentured Blacks were gradually converted to the status of slaves, and in the entire history of the English colonies only a few hundred Blacks became free. In the 1660s, Virginia and Maryland passed laws which made it legal to own Blacks as slaves. These laws also made slavery hereditary. This meant that the children of slave parents were slaves from birth to death.

By the close of the Colonial Period, there were about four hundred thousand Negro slaves in the colonies. Three-fourths of this number lived in the South, where they made up two-fifths of the entire population. In South Carolina, they outnumbered whites two to one.

By the end of the Colonial Period, many people wanted to abolish slavery. It was eliminated by the new states in the northern part of the country by state action, narrowly missed elimination in the Virginia legislature, but was not prohibited by the Constitution of 1787 largely upon the insistence of delegates from South Carolina and Georgia. The expansion of the cotton economy after the War of 1812 encouraged slavery to continue in the South for another generation.

As is usual with wealth, property in slaves was unevenly distributed. Approximately one in four families owned slaves, and two-thirds of these held fewer than ten each. The number who owned 50 or more slaves was estimated at not over 8,000.

Latifundismo is a term often applied to the cultivation of large areas by a captive population, as on the *encomienda* and *hacienda*. It implies an attitude of disinterest on the part of the wealthy toward useful and productive labor, as well as a disregard for the rights of the working poor. It also expresses a feeling that the

government exists to serve the wealthy, and that they have no obligation to the country or to the poor.

The possession of land in the southern states of the United States, as in Mexico, came to have high social prestige which many wanted.

Latifundismo is not dead in Mexico or in the United States. In Mexico it continues as politicians and businessmen attempt to obtain huge estates even though such land holdings are illegal. In the United States it is found in the commercial farms, particularly the truck farms of the Southwest which employ much migrant labor, mostly Mexican-American. It is found in the Senate of the United States, which refuses to deprive large farmers of hugh government subsidies. It is found wherever government bestows wealth and favor on those who already possess such privileges, as with income tax exemptions for millionaires while workers who are poor pay taxes.

As a result of the defeat of the Confederate States and enactment of the Thirteenth Amendment, slavery was abolished in the United States. The effect of slavery was nevertheless felt for many years. The first was the slaves had not been educated; no massive efforts were made to educate Negroes in the nineteenth century. Today, many of the educational problems of the United States stem from this long neglect.

Negroes were, and still are, discriminated against and forced to live in a segregated society. Mexico never had as much racial discrimination against Negroes and Indians that was found in the United States. Juarez, leader of the Mexican Reform Movement and President for many years, was a full-blooded Indian.

The United States Negroes who were freed had no land and no experience in managing farms. Soon a system grew up which was little different from the debt peonage of the Mexican *hacienda*. This was the system of tenant share cropping, in which the cropper gave his labor against a share of the crop, while the landlord supplied seed, land, and fertilizer. Since the cropper seldom made enough to get ahead, he was usually in debt to the landlord. This system finally broke down after World War II. Farm machines and wage labor replaced share cropping and industrial jobs in cities gave Negroes new opportunities for employment.

Although *latifundismo* is generally associated with agricultural economies, a similar spirit developed with the large industrial corporations in the United States after the

Civil War. As described in a later section, organized, national labor unions were labor's response to the centralized control over industry which came with the corporation.

The family farm in the United States.

After Independence, the United States government continued to make cheap land in small holdings available to farmers. The first legislation of 1796 proved unsuccessful. It provided for the sale of land in the Northwest Territory in single sections of 640 acres at $2 per acre. The price was too high and the tracts were too large. Only 48,000 acres were sold under this act. In 1800, the Harrison Land Act reduced the size to one half section of 320 acres, with one-fourth payment in cash and the balance in three equal installments. In 1804 the size of the tracts were further reduced to 160 acres, with one-fourth cash payment. This meant that for $80 a person could buy a farm. But many farmers were unable to pay the balance, and by 1820 Congress had enacted twelve laws postponing the date for payment of balance. In that year Congress made it possible to purchase a farm as small as 80 acres and reduced the price to $1.25 an acre. In 1821, a Relief Act was passed which provided that farmers could buy land with a cash discount of 37-1/2 percent; or pay for land in eight installments; or turn back land to the government that was not paid for and keep land with a clear title equal in value to the payments that had already been made. At the same time, people in the West kept up their demand for free land. Southern representatives in Congress, combined with eastern interests, were nevertheless able to block enactment of free land legislation until the Civil War.

In 1862 Congress passed the Homestead Act. It enabled people to receive free land from the government west of the Mississippi. The homesteader was obligated to pay a small fee to register the title, live on the land for five years, and make improvements. After he had done those things, he became the owner of the land. Thousands of small farmers obtained land in this way. This does not mean that there were not many large farms. In the West, ranchers had land holdings as large as many of the great *haciendas* in Mexico. There were also many tenant farmers and sharecroppers. But in contrast to pre-Revolutionary Mexico, land ownership in the United States was widely distributed. Many people owned land. It was not held by a small group.

Increase of size of farms.

Farms in the United States today are part of an industrial economy. In contrast to Mexico, where the size of farms have become smaller and smaller, the size of farms in the United States have become increasingly larger. The family farm, operated by the farmer and his family and pro-

viding food for the family, has largely disappeared. Most farms in the United States are operated as a factory in the field. The farmer specializes in one or two crops, and sells his crop for cash. Even if he lives on the farm, he buys most of his food from the supermarket, just as his neighbor in the city.

Bracero labor.

Braceros were Mexican farm laborers who worked in the United States. During World War II there was a shortage of farm workers in the United States because many men had gone into the military. On August 4, 1942 a contract was signed by the Mexican and United States governments for 50 thousand Mexican *braceros* to work on farms in the United States. The contract required that the *braceros* receive the same wage as United States farm workers. Although farm workers were not paid a very high wage in this country, a Mexican worker could earn from 15 to 20 times as much here as he could in Mexico.

Because of the relatively high wages being paid Mexican workers in the United States, many Mexicans wanted to work in the United States. This number was larger than the number who were legally allowed to become *braceros*. This situation led to the illegal smuggling of Mexicans across the border into the United States. Many of these illegal immigrants were paid lower wages than others were earning. Often inadequate housing, sanitation, and food were provided. These conditions caused bad feelings on both sides of the border.

Between 1942 and 1957 over 2-1/2 million *braceros* worked in the United States. During those same years over 4-1/2 million illegal Mexican workers were arrested and returned to Mexico by the United States Border Patrol.

Against much opposition, the *bracero* program was ended in 1964 because many United States citizens needed jobs.

Labor and labor unions in the United States.

Labor unions on craft lines appeared in the colonies before independence, and labor strikes sometimes occurred. But these were largely local efforts. It was not until after the Civil War that national labor movements appeared.

The latter part of the nineteenth century witnessed a series of bitter labor disputes in the United States. Invariably, the courts, police, and state militia were on the side of the employer and not on the side of the striker. And just as Diaz used his *rurales* in Mexico to break labor strikes, private companies employed Pinkerton detectives or could call on the sympathy of government to break the strike,

as with the Homestead Strike of 1892 or the Pullman Strike of 1894. In the latter case President Cleveland used federal troops to break the strike.

The first attempts to organize a national labor union, without regard to craft lines, were failures.

In 1881, Samuel Gompers formed an association of craft unions, the American Federation of Labor. Soon it came to include many of the national craft unions, except those of railway workers. The A.F. of L. restricted itself to goals within the working system, such as the eight-hour day, ending child labor, improved working conditions, and higher wages.

Today, protective labor legislation is taken for granted, and it is difficult to understand working conditions as they existed before unions influenced legislation. The working day was usually ten hours long, and the six day week was taken for granted. Wages, compared to present standards, were very low. American workers earned, on an average, between $400 and $500 a year at a time when a dollar might be worth only four or five times more than it is worth today. An unskilled worker might be paid 15¢ an hour, but he was often unemployed. A total weekly pay of $4 or $5 was not uncommon. There were no unemployment benefits, there were few safety precautions, and there was no workman's compensation for the frequent accidents. Children and women worked long hours for low wages, but for many families it was necessary. Child labor was common because children could be paid low wages. Children worked in packing plants of the West, in the sweat-shops of the East, and in the cotton mills of the South. Poverty was common. Most working families rented the space in which they lived. Overcrowding was common and sanitary conditions unspeakable. Streets were alternately muddy lanes or dusty thoroughfares.

Industry expanded rapidly and the industrialists who became rich lived the same kind of lives found among the wealthy of the same period in Mexico. The praise heaped on the Mexican President, Diaz, by Americans reflected the fact that he carried out the kind of control in Mexico his admirers hoped to achieve in the United States.

Beginning in the 1900s, protective labor legislation was gradually enacted. A Department of Labor was created in 1912, and provisions of the Clayton Act of 1914 protected the right of labor to organize and strike. These provisions were lost by court interpretation during the 1920s and it was not until the depression of the 1930s in the United States that the rights of labor were finally attained by national

legislation. The Wagner-Connery Labor Relations Act of 1936 guaranteed labor the right to organize, and provided a National Labor Relations Board to protect the labor from unfair employers. In 1938, the Fair Labor Standards Act provided for reduction of the work week to 44 hours and to 40 hours by 1940, provided a minimum wage of 25¢ an hour, and eliminated the employment of children under sixteen, or in hazardous occupations, under eighteen. Another far reaching act of the depression years was the Social Security Act of 1935, which included such provisions as unemployment compensation and survivors insurance. Survivors insurance is a minimum type of national pension. Although the payments are very modest, millions of retired workers look forward to their monthly "welfare" check. Today, most workers in the United States are covered by minimum wage legislation, which in 1972 was $1.85 per hour. Increasing industrialization and production has brought the American worker high incomes found in few other places in the world.

In 1955 a merged organization--A.F.L.-C.I.O.--was formed. The various organizations which compose the organization, such as the International Longshoreman's Organization, still act with a high degree of independence.

Labor unity in the United States, however, has not brought about labor peace. The strike still remains the principal weapon of the labor union to force higher wages. In the ten years between 1959-1968 the United States had one of the highest rates of working days lost as a result of strikes.

Conclusion

The economic system of Mexico shows more of its colonial heritage than does the economic system of the United States. One reason is that Mexico is still more agricultural than the United States. Any country which is still agricultural will seem closer to its past than an industrial country. Industrialization is relatively new in most countries. In the United States, industrialization began before the Civil War; in Mexico, in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Mexico, therefore, is about fifty years behind the United States in the time modernization began.

Since World War II, Mexico has had a very high rate of industrial growth. With more and more industrialization, a larger part of the Mexican labor force will work in manufacturing. There will be a larger number of Mexicans who will live in the cities. Fewer agricultural workers will supply Mexico's food needs.

As a result of these changes, the economy of Mexico will become more like the economy of the United States. Modernization in the form of industrialization and urbanization will bring many changes to Mexico. Systems of land tenure, important in an agricultural country, will seem less important in an industrial country. As work shifts from agriculture to industry, questions of industrial wages and labor benefits will become more important. The largely Indian sections of Mexico are among the most rural and isolated. Here for many years to come one may expect to find the Indian clinging to his *milpa*, as he has for hundreds of years. Industrialization and urbanization will increase the contrasts that already are found in the culture of Mexico.

Table 3

National Income and Income per Person,

$ U.S., 1970

	National Income in $ Billion, 1969	Per capita Income 1958	1963	1969
United States	775.0	2,115	2,560	3,815
Mexico	24.2	270	350	510
Japan	131.8	285	560	1,290
United Kingdom	84.2	1,015	1,300	1,515
Venezuela	7.8	630	605	800

CHAPTER VII

POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS IN MEXICO AND THE UNITED STATES

Chapter Organizer

The Aztec Indians of Mexico had a strong centralized government that controlled other tribes. The Spanish were able to take over the Aztec government and replace it with a centralized government of their own. They ruled indirectly, through the Indian chiefs.

The Indians of the Eastern Woodlands in the United States did not have a single centralized government. The English could not rule the Indians by conquering one tribe.

There were important differences between the Spanish and English political institutions at the time of settlement. The Spanish representative assembly, the , had become weak while the English representative assembly, the Parliament, had become strong. England permitted more religious differences than Spain.

The Spanish ruled Mexico through one central agency, the Council of the Indians, and one governor, the viceroy. The council and the viceroy represented the king. The English did not have a single agency or a single governor for their colonies. They were decentralized and were politically independent of one another.

The people of Mexico elected their officials only at the town level. The people in the English colonies elected the leaders of the colony as well as local leaders. The English became more interested in colonial politics because they were involved in the election.

By the end of the Colonial Period colonists who had been born in the colonies felt more attached to the land of their birth than to England or Spain. These feelings led to the move for independence in each country.

The revolution in Mexico was caused by social class differences. The poor wanted land. The rich wanted to keep their land and power. Independence came to Mexico when the wealthy landowners revolted.

The fight for independence in the United States was not a class struggle. People of all classes were either loyal to England or patriotic to the idea of an independent government. Political independence, rather than land or wealth or power caused the American Revolution.

The United States has enjoyed a very stable government except for the Civil War. Political changes have taken place in an orderly fashion. A Constitution and amendments were adopted to protect the rights of the people. The courts have interpreted the Constitution to meet changing conditions. The ideals of rule by law and rights of property have been upheld.

Mexico has a 100 year period of instability. Political changes have taken place through civil war, foreign wars, and foreign interference. A period of peace came but it did not improve the lives of the people. The Revolution came in 1910 when the people demanded land and better living conditions. The Constitution of 1917 provided for these changes but it was not until the 1930s that many improvements were actually made.

Although there are many similarities in the governments of Mexico and the United States, it is the differences that are more important. The President of Mexico has greater power than the United States' President. The United States has two main national political parties while Mexico has one.

The Mexican government is more socialistic. It controls more businesses, industries, and services than the United States government. The United States, which is more capitalistic, has private ownership and operation of industries and services. Both countries have some socialism and some capitalism. Both governments influence business and industry.

Political Institutions of the Aztecs and Eastern Woodland Indians

Section Organizer

At the time of Spanish contact, the Aztec Indians had made an empire. They controlled large areas of land and many tribes. Tribal ways were being replaced with a centralized government over many tribes. The conquest of the Aztec capital made it easy for the Spanish to control the rest of the country. A Spanish centralized government replaced the Aztec centralized government.

Eastern Woodland Indians had tribal governments. The English colonists settled along the Atlantic coast and drove the Indians away. Since the Indians did not have a centralized government over many tribes, the English took over the country gradually by settlement.

Political Institutions of the Aztecs and Eastern Woodland Indians

Aztecs

At the time of the Spanish conquest, the Azetcs had made an empire in Mexico. They were replacing old tribal ways with a strong, central government. The Aztec empire spread out over a large territory and included neighboring tribes they had conquered. The conquered tribes had to pay tribute to the Aztecs in goods and people. The Aztecs had a strong military empire and controlled the conquering tribes by force.

Their capital, which served as government and military headquarters, was the beautiful city of Tenochtitlan in the Valley of Mexico. By the time the Spanish arrived, the Indians of Mexico were accustomed to a strong, centralized, military government. They were in the habit of obeying the military leaders and priests of this government.

The Spanish were few in numbers. They did not have enough people to govern the country. They used a system of indirect rule. They let the lower Indian chiefs keep their power so long as they did what the Spanish wanted. This is the way the governed their through Indian chiefs. In this way the centralized Aztec government actually helped the Spanish conquer and control southern Mexico. In the tribal, low-culture Chichemec areas of northern Mexico, settlement was very slow. Two hundred years passed before San Antonio was founded in Texas. The slow settlement of northern Mexico was similar in many ways to the settlement of the Atlantic seaboard. But to the end of the Colonial Period, the number of Spanish in the area was few.

Eastern Woodland Indians

In contrast to the strong, central government of the Aztecs, tribes of the Eastern Woodlands in the United States did not control large areas. The first English settlers only came in contact with small tribes. Larger groups, such as the Iroquois and Cherokee, lived inland away from the coast and the early English settlements.

The English came into contact with many small Indian tribes. They did not meet and conquer a single tribe that ruled much of the land and people, as the Aztecs did in Mexico.

The largest group of Indians east of the Mississippi was a league of Indian tribes in New York, the Iroquois Confederacy. In the Confederacy representatives of the several tribes joined together to make some laws. The separate tribes, however, kept most authority to make their own tribal laws. At first the Iroquois Confederacy was made up of five tribes. Later, others joined. The population of the Confederacy was between 10 and 17 thousand. This is in marked contrast to the Mexican Indian population of about 15 million.

The Iroquois were at first friendly with the English settlers. Eventually they realized their land and hunting grounds would continue to be lost to English settlement. But then it was too late for them to resist. The white men were too numerous and had too high a level of technology.

In general, Indian political institutions had little influence on the United States.

TABLE 4

Comparison of Political Institutions of
Mexico and the United States

Mexico	United States
Aztec	Eastern Woodland Indians
Empire; centralized bureaucratic administration; military control over dependent tribes	Many small tribes; some organized into larger units, such as Iroquois and Creek; but no centralized political administration
Spanish	England
No developed representative institutions at national level; Cortes failed to become a check on power of king	Parliament was beginning to assert its independence from King; an effective representative body with control over taxation
Spain did not become united until late 15th century	England united in 11th century by conquest
Spanish colonization in 16th century took place against a background of Hapsburg centralization	English colonization in 17th century took place against a background of struggling for parliamentary supremacy
Religious dissent treated as treason against government; Inquisition an instrument of political unity	No toleration for dissenters in England, but dissentors permitted to migrate to New World; diversity of colonies permitted diversity of belief

Mexico

Conquest

Organized military expeditions, modeled after expeditions against Moors in Spain

Organized resistance of Aztecs to Cortes

Indian allies of Cortes, e.g., such as Tarascans, made possible conquest

Collapse of centralized Aztec administration made possible rapid occupation of country and substitution of a few Spanish chiefs for Aztch chiefs

New Spain

Centralized Administration

New Spain one political unit
One capital, Mexico City, replaced Tenochtitlan
Viceroy-audiencia form, with hierarchical gobierno-audiencias responsible to viceroy

Council of Indies as one agency for all colonies

United States

No-conquest

Trade-settlement approach, modeled after British East India Company

No organized resistance to first small settlements

Small Indian groups at first friendly toward European

No extensive occupation; settlements gradually moved inward, pushing out Indians as advanced. King Phillip War in Mass. and King Opechancanough in Virginia were belated Indian attempts to organize resistance

English colonies

De-centralized Administration

13 colonies, each a separate political unit
13 capitals
13 governors, no responsibility to one agency--
- to propritors
- to corporate body
- to king if royal colony

Separate policies via different English governmental departments

Mexico	United States
No-representative national or provincial institutions	**Representative Institutions**
No assemblies with legislative power	Assemblies with legislative power and control over taxes
	Town basis for election
	Parish or county basis for election
Strong town government	Strong town government
The comunidad of vecinos	Relationship to congregation
But no basis for election to other units	Relationship to election to General Court
Stratified society	**Relatively less stratification**
Small upper class - creoles and gachupines	Small upper class - not as firm distinct between American & English, but nevertheless emerging
Small middle class	Large Middle class - small farmers and merchants
Large peasant and working class	Slaves in South
Privileged Groups	**Privileged Groups**
Church	Landowner, large merchant
Army	
Landowners	
Mercantilism Enforced	**Mercantilism**
Piratical attachs - the convoys	Flouted in 17th century
	Contributed to revolution in 18th century

Mexico

No model of Revolution in Spain

Turned toward French Revolutionaries- more philosophical and less political

Independence and Reaction 1810-1821

Spanish Background

The Napoleonic wars - overthrow of Bourbon king with Bonaparte forced on Spanish

Question of legitimate government in Spain

Economic Background

Class Stratification as factor
Social Revolution of 1810 - Grito de Dolores and Father Hidalgo
Counyer Revolution of 1821 - Iturbide and the Gachupin-Creole-Church combination

Organizing for Independence

A series of coup, rather than widespread support

United States

Model of Revolution in England

Locke's 17th century justification became rationale of 18th century revolution

Independence and Republicanism 1776-1783

English Background

Division in England as to treatment of colonies - parliamentary supremacy

No question of legitimate government in England

Economic Background

Less influence; all classes found in loyalists and in patriots

Organizing for Independence

Committees of Correspondence in 13 colonies
First Continental Congress
Second Continental Congress

Mexico

INDEPENDENCE AND GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS

Instability and change of government by coup

Iturbide and Empire
Importance of the military role

Government by coup - violence begets violence

The alliance of privilege--land, army, and church

State governments as dentripetal components

Loss of territory to U. S.

Mexico City and Federal capital--government subject to garrison in city

Civil War and French Intervention as Class Conflict

United States

INDEPENDENCE AND GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS

Stability and peaceful change -- power transferred by elections as stipulated in constitution

State Governments and Articles of Confederation
Importance of the civil role; army as instrument of civil government

Constitution of United States, 1787

Transition to political parties

Federalism in the United States based on the reality of pre-existent state governments

Gain in territory, but contributed to conflicts growing out of slavery

Washington City as a federal district

Civil War as slavery and constitutional different states aligned against states

Mexico	United States
REACTION IN MEXICO, the Diaz Regime 1876-1911	REACTION IN THE UNITED STATES, the Republican domination
Diaz dictatorship under constitutional forms	Business corruption in national government
Subversion of the spirit of the Constitution of 1857 while maintain forms	
Rurales Land losses Privileged classes--army, land, church, and emerging business with foreign influence	Pinkertons Civil rights losses Privileged class--the business corporation
REVOLUTION AND REFORM IN MEXICO	REFORM IN THE UNITED STATES
The Revolution of 1910 Madero and "No reelection"	The Wilson Period and War Wilsonian Reforms World War I Reaction of the 20's
Constitution of 1917 A plan of social action as much as government The delayed revolution	
The Cardenas Regime	Depression and Roosevelt Reform

151

Mexico	United States
CONTEMPORARY	CONTEMPORARY
Constitutional	Constitutional
Federal in form, but states weak--tendency to set up independent structure from national govt.	Federal in form; states a historic reality not divisions of national administration; national government and states have complete system of government
President--exceptionally strong, 6 year, non-renewable term, may be regarded as a temporary, elected dictator	Strong president, but shares power with courts and Congress
Congress relatively little power--de facto power in President and PRI	Congress a coordinate power independent of the president
President and PRI main interpreter of constitution	Courts as well as Congress interpret constitution; interpretation of Constitution to adjust to new social and economic conditions permits country to maintain fiction of constitution without formal amendment
Easy to amend constitution	Difficult to amend constitution
One party country PRI nomination equal election	Two party country, with occasional appearance of third party efforts
Pervasive influence of PRI throughout country; a national organization from year to year	No real national parties except for purpose of electing president - a confederation of local and state organizations

Mexico	United States
Socialist approach, much government participation in industrial and agricultural development	Capitalist approach, but with much government regulation
Stability and orderly change	Stability and orderly change
Role of army less important--protector of constitution	
Accommodation with church	
Party road to political success	Continuing influence of business

Spanish and English Political Institutions at Time of First Settlement

Section Organizer

There were some major differences in Spanish and English political institutions at time of settlement. In representative assembly and law making, the Spanish *cortes* had become weak while the English Parliament had become strong. In prestige of army officers, the Spanish officer was highly regarded while the English did not have a large army class. In tolerance of religious differences, Spain tried to make everyoody conform while England permitted people of different religious beliefs to colonize the New World so long as they remained loyal to the king. Spanish political institutions tried to enforce unity while in England there was more diversity.

Spanish and English Political Institutions at the Time of First Settlement

Neither Spain nor England had experience as colonial powers at the time of contact with the New World. Both countries had to invent ways of governing their new colonies. Nonmaterial inventions, like governments, as well as material inventions, are based on previous knowledge and experience.

Spain, which had recently become a single country, had a king who was very powerful. An advisory body, the *cortes*, had no power and little influence on the king. In the past some members of the *cortes* had been elected by the people, but by the time Spain began colonizing the New World, all *cortes* members were appointed by the king. The king did not want any challenge to his authority so he did not permit a *cortes* to be established in the Spanish colonies.

England had been a single country for about 500 years before it colonized the New World. It also had a king. The King of England was becoming less powerful than in the past. The House of Commons was a representative assembly. It was the lower house of Parliament. It was becoming more powerful. Commoners were elected to represent the people. By the time English settlement in the New World began, the Commoners were ready to fight with the king over the authority to tax the people.

In this way Englishmen who came to settle in the colonies brought with them the idea that it was the right of the people, rather than the king, to set taxes and make laws. The Spanish colonists did not think of claiming these rights. This was one of the most important differences in ideas of political institutions that the English and Spanish brought to the New World.

Another difference between the Spanish and English had to do with fighting and conquest. The Spanish had been at war for centuries and had developed a large group of professional soldiers called knights. These knights felt superior to the people who had not fought in the wars. It was not until 1492 that the last of the Moorish kingdoms in Spain--Granada--fell to the Spanish. Many unemployed soldiers were willing and eager to go to the New World which had just been discovered by Columbus. These soldiers who came to the New World were called *conquistadors*, which means conquerors. They became a symbol of Spanish power and had great prestige.

In England, the century before colonization was mainly one of peace. England had not fought any big wars and soldiers did not have great prestige.

When the English looked for a way to colonize, they did not organize expeditions of soldiers, as the Spanish had done. They took as their model the British East India Company, a trading company.

Another difference between Spain and England that affected political institutions in the New World was in religion. In Spain the Inquisition was established as a political-religious institution. People who spoke out against either the Roman Catholic religion or the Spanish government were jailed and sometimes executed. Speaking against the king was treated not merely as disloyalty, but also as heresy--being against the approved religion. The Inquisition made people conform in politics as well as religion. To force people to conform, it allowed little freedom of thought. Ideas which helped change other parts of Europe were kept away from the Spanish people.

In England religious differences were not as severely punished, provided people of different beliefs said they were loyal to the king. People who did not believe in the official Anglican religion were permitted to come to the New World. As a result, religious differences developed in the English colonies. In the Spanish colonies, only Roman Catholics were permitted. In Mexico, the Church and the government were not separate as they were in the English colonies.

These traditions led to differences in Spanish and English traits in the New World. Mexico developed a tradition of powerful central government, while the English colonies developed a tradition of separate colonial governments. The Spanish tradition led to uniformity--doing things in the same way. The English tradition led to diversity--doing things in different ways.

Centralization and Decentralization: Environment and Tradition

Section Organizer

The Spanish conquered an empire, and replaced the centralized Aztec government with a centralized Spanish government. Legally, the king was the final authority, but the Council of the Indies actually was the most powerful governmental body. It made laws, saw that they were carried out, and served as judges for Mexico and the other Spanish colonies.

The king was represented in Mexico by a viceroy, who served as governor, and an *audiencia*, a group that advised the viceroy and reported directly to the king. Each province in Mexico was administered by a *governor-audiencia*. Only the towns had elected officials. At all other levels they were appointed by higher officials.

In contrast to Mexico, the English colonies were decentralized. They were politically independent of one another. They had been established as private profit-making adventures rather than as government efforts. There was no central capital for the English colonies and no central agency in England to deal with colonial government.

Centralization and Decentralization: Environment and Tradition

Mexico

When the Spanish conquered the Aztec empire, they took over an existing centralized government and replaced it with a contralized government of their own. Because of the tradition of centralized government in Mexico, a small number of Spaniards were able to control a large number of Indians.

This was especially true in central Mexico but was not the case in the southern part of the country where the Mayan Indians lived. There was no gold in southern Mexico so the Spanish simply left that part of the country alone and did not try to establish Spanish control there for many years.

Hernan Cortez, the Spanish leader, had only 500 soldiers with him when he landed in Mexico in 1519. He enlisted the aid of many Indian tribes who were enemies of the Aztecs, and conquered the Aztecs in 1521. The Spanish were able to defeat the Aztecs because of their Indian allies and their higher level of technology. The Spanish had guns, cannons, armor, horses and wheeled carts while the Aztecs had none of these traits.

The government of Mexico did not represent the people during the Colonial Period. It represented the king. At first, the king ruled Mexico through a viceroy, or governor. This was changed when the first viceroy made too many decisions that the king did not like.

The second type of colonial government in Mexico was that of committee rule. The committee was made up of a group called the *audiencia* The viceroy served as president of the *audiencia* and could not make decisions on his own. This committee form of government did not work too well because the members quarreled among themselves.

The king again changed the form of government in Mexico. He was afraid to appoint just one man to represent him because Spanish officers in the New World had all too often ignored the laws of the king and took things into their own hands. In 1535 the king gave the viceroy executive powers as governor. But, he also kept the as an advisory body to the viceroy. The viceroy did not have to follow the advice of the *audiencia* but he knew that they reported directly to the king so he considered their advice very carefully. In addition to

advising the viceroy, the *audiencia* served as a court of appeal. It ruled on the decisions of lower courts when lower court decisions were appealed.

The viceroy could not directly look after the entire colony of Mexico, so the colony was divided into provinces, which are similar to states. Each province was administered by a *gobierno-audiencia* that was responsible to the *viceroy-audiencia* in Mexico City.

The provinces were further divided into smaller administrative units called districts. Each province was administered by two other appointed officials, the *corregidores*. One was responsible for Spanish affairs, and the other was responsible for Indian affairs. They also supervised the Indian and Spanish towns in their districts. There were no elected officials at the district, province, or viceroyalty levels. All were appointed by higher officials.

The only place where there was local self-government in Mexico during the Colonial Period, was at the town level. The *comunidad*, or corporate city, was a strong Spanish institution. Only the members of the corporation could vote in town elections. In the earliest days of the Colonial Period, it was easy to become a *vecinos* or member of the corporation. All a person had to do was sign the membership register and agree to follow the rules of the town government. The *vecinos* elected the town council or *cabildo*. The *cabildo* elected the mayor and approved the appointment of other officials.

Representative government began and ended at the town level. Even here the *corregidores*, who were appointed from above, had supervisory authority.

Many Mexicans were interested only in the affairs of their local town rather than in the affairs of the province or viceroyalty. They had the power to elect their town officials but not the province or viceroyalty officials.

Between the king in Spain and the viceroy-*audiencia* in Mexico City was a very powerful colonial agency--the Council of the Indies. At first it was responsible for organizing everything to do with her colonies in the New World. Although it met in Spain, which was thousands of miles from Mexico, it tried to legislate, or make the laws, for the colony. With the authority and approval of the king, it made laws dealing with administration, justice,

taxation, police, defense, and boundaries. It named appointees to political and Church offices, acted as a court of final appeal, censored books for export, and investigated colonial officers and their actions. It was a hard working agency. Its members were usually quite able and conscientious. It was particularly strong during the seventeenth century when the Spanish kings were not strong rulers.

Despite its good intentions, it did not understand conditions in Mexico. Its laws to improve the country and protect the Indians were often ignored by officials in Mexico.

Another aspect of centralization was control over trade. Spain was no different from other countries. All countries at that time, including England, had what was known as a mercantilistic policy. The idea was to restrict trade between the mother country in Europe and the colonies so that the colonies would supply raw materials and the mother country only manufactured products. The colonies were prohibited from manufacturing most goods. Raw materials and manufactured goods were only supposed to be transported in ships of the mother country. This was to help support a navy.

The Casa de Contracion was the special branch of the Council of the Indies which had control of trade. To control trade, there was only one legal point of entry in Spain, Seville. The rigid control of trade discouraged industry in Mexico. Since the main tradition there was a military rather than a merchant tradition, there were only a few Spanish who tried to get around the regulations. New Englanders, in contrast, made a specialty of violating English trade restrictions.

Another centralizing aspect of Spanish trade with the New World was the annual convoy of ships to and from Spain. The wealth of Spain invited plunder. While England was supposed to be at peace with Spain in the sixteenth century, English privateers were always out to capture Spanish ships. To protect the outgoing ships from Spain and the returning treasure ships from Mexico, the Spanish worked out a convoy system. This, in turn, discouraged free enterprise. But in the latter part of the eighteenth century privateering had been outlawed by the British and the Spanish colonies were opened up to trade. This ushered in a new period of prosperity for the Spanish possessions.

The centralization of government in colonial Mexico is shown in Figure 1.

Table 5

CENTRALIZATION OF GOVERNMENT IN NEW SPAIN

Territory & Authority	Official	Method of Selection
Final: Spanish Kingdom and Colonies	King	Hereditary
Set Policies for Spanish Colonies: (Colonial Department)	Council of Indies	Appointed by King
Viceroyalty: Executive Officer with Advisory Council-Court of Appeals	Viceroy-Audiencia	Appointed by King
Province: Executive Officer with Advisory Council-Court of Appeals	Gobierno-Audiencia	Appointed by King
District Executive Officer	Corregidors (One for Indians; One for Spanish)	Some Appointed by Viceroy; Others by King
**		
Town: Legislative Body	Cabildo (Council)	Elected by Vecinos
Town: Executive Officer	Alcalde (Mayor)	Elected by Council
Town: Various Officials	Treasurer-Secretary, Policeman, Jailer, Town Crier, Lawyer	Appointed by Cabildo

United States

The English experience on the Atlantic seaboard was quite different from that of the Spanish in Mexico. They found no gold, rich cities, or large numbers of farming Indians. They found endless miles of woods that stretched westward, and rich land that first had to be cleared of trees for farming. And they differed in how they came and what they brought.

The colonizing efforts of the English in Virginia and the other colonies depended on private effort. King James I granted rights to two joint-stock companies to develop lands in the New World. The money was put up by stockholders, as in a modern corporation. The stockholders did not have experience in colonization, and the Virginia effort almost failed because of lack of supplies, a high death rate, and poor political organization. Only 105 men were left behind to settle Jamestown in 1607, and by 1608, when the first relief ship arrived, only 38 were still alive. The best known leader of Virginia colonization is John Smith, who kept much of the colony going by his energy and skill in getting food from the Indians.

Jamestown started out with a committee form of government, called a council. The British found that this did not work, because council members spent most of the time quarrelling among themselves about what to do. The Spanish had had a similar experience with the
The president merely presided over the council; he had no executive authority. Smith finally got much power in his hands after he became president in 1608 because the other members of the council had died or gone back to England.

In 1609, the London Company that settled Jamestown changed its name to the Virginia Company. The company also got the power to appoint a chief executive officer, a governor. The governor was not responsible to the king; he was responsible to the board of directors of the company. The council was also kept, but it now served as an advisory body to the governor. The council later became the upper house of the legislative body, so the English did not end up with a governor-council model that was found in Mexico.

As a result of this early experience, all the other colonies either started out with or soon got governors. For example, John Carver was elected governor of the Plymouth Bay Colony by the Pilgrims before they landed. In the royal colonies, the governor was appointed by the king. In the colonies that had big land owners, called proprietors, the governor was appointed by the proprietors. In the charter colonies, the governor was elected by the people.

By the time the Revolution came in 1776, there were eight royal colonies, three proprietary colonies, and two charter colonies. But no English colony started out as a royal colony. The royal colonies had all begun at first as proprietary, as with South Carolina and North Carolina, or charter colonies under joint-stock companies, as with Virginia and Massachusetts.

The English stockholder is not as romantic a figure as a conqueror on horseback, but that is the way the English colonies got started. In 1624 the king revoked the Virginia Company charter and made Virginia the first royal colony.

There were thirteen English colonies, not just one. Each colony was a separate and distinct political unit. How did this come about? As people wanted to settle or get land in the English colonies, the king from time to time gave a grant to joint stockholders or to proprietors. Each started out to make a separate settlement. Thus after Jamestown was settled, separate settlements were started in New England, in the Middle Colonies, and in the Carolinas. Each colony had its own government. Unlike the king of Spain, the English king did not set up an administration for one big territory, such as a viceroyalty, and divide that into smaller subdivisions. This had very important results later. The thirteen colonies became thirteen separate states.

There was another important difference. The English king never did set up a centralized English colonial office for the colonies. There was no one administration like the Council of Indies was for the Spanish colonies. Each department of government in England dealt with its matters in the colonies without having to go before a central board. Certain acts of the colonial legislatures could be overruled by the English Privy Council, but this Privy Council was for England and the colonies, not just for the colonies alone.

Decentralization, rather than centralization, was found in the English colonies. English colonists never had one great capital city to compare with Mexico City. They had thirteen capitals, and most were modest towns rather than cities. The governor of one colony had no responsibility to a governor of another colony. And each colony dealt separately with many different government departments in England. Compare this decentralized English arrangement, shown in Figure 2, with the centralized Spanish arrangement shown in Figure 1. Decentralization is due, more than anything else, to the founding of separate and distinct colonies.

Table 6

DECENTRALIZATION IN THE ENGLISH COLONIES

Began As	Colony	In 1776 Governor Appointed or Elected By	Connected to Many Different English Departments	Main Agency	Final Authority
	New Hampshire	King			
Joint-Stock Charter	Massachusetts	King			
Charter	Rhode Island	Elected			
Charter	Connecticut	Elected			
Proprietary	New York	King	Board of Trade	King's	King
Proprietary	New Jersey	King	Customs Department	Privy Council	and
Proprietary	Pennsylvania	Proprietor	Post Office Department	(Review and Disallow Legislation)	Parliament
Proprietary	Delaware	Proprietor	Army		
Proprietary	Maryland	Proprietor	Navy		
Joint-Stock	Virginia	King			
Proprietary	North Carolina	King			
Proprietary	South Carolina	King			
Trustee	Georgia	King			

Representation: The Road to American Independence

Section Organizer

One of the most striking differences between the methods of government of Colonial Mexico and that of the English colonies was in representation. Except at the town level, the people of Mexico had no power to elect officials or make laws.

In contrast, the people in each English colony elected a colonial assembly with the power to make laws. One of the most important rights claimed by the colonial assemblies was the power to tax.

Representative government was also practiced at the town and local level in the English colonies. Representative government is a means by which people elect a few of their number to make laws for them. The lawmakers represent the people. The tradition of representative town government in the English colonies was no stronger than in the towns of Colonial Mexico. The unit of government varied among the colonies. In New England, the northern English colonies, the town became the unit of local government. In the southern English colonies, the county was the typical unit of local government.

English colonists were interested in the affairs of the colony, not just of their local town or county. The local governmental unit was the unit for elected representatives to the colonial legislature.

By the end of the Colonial Period colonists who had been born in the colonies developed the feeling that they were more attached to the land of their birth than they were to the mother country in Europe. Spaniards who were born in Mexico were known as *Creoles* while Spaniards who came from Spain were known as *Gachupines*. As colonists in Mexico and the United States became more loyal to the New World rather than to their mother countries in Europe, the time became ripe for independence.

Representation: The Road to American Independence

At the time of colonization, representation of the people in Parliament was increasing in England. This was very different from Spain where the last bit of representative government had died over a hundred years earlier. The English settlers brought with them an awareness of the growing power of an elected House of Commons. Spanish settlers brought an awareness of the growing power of the king.

The first elected colonial assembly was established in Virginia in 1619. At that time, the colony was still under the control of the Virginia Company. The Virginia assembly consisted of 22 elected burgesses or representatives, two from each settlement. It also consisted of councilors appointed by the governor and approved by the directors of the company, as well as the governor, who was appointed by the directors. In time, the burgesses split off into a separate house, and claimed the power of taxation in the colony similar to that of the House of Commons in Parliament. The General Assembly thus came to consist of two houses: a lower house, the House of Burgesses, elected by the people; and an upper house, appointed by the governor, which had advisory as well as legislative functions. At first, most of the power was in the hands of the governor and his council, but in time, most of the legislative, or lawmaking power was claimed by the elected lower house. In 1624, the charter of the Virginia Company was revoked and Virginia became a royal colony. The colonial assembly, however, remained part of the colonial government.

In Massachusetts Bay, a similar two-house legislature, called the General Court, came into being. In the early days, only the twelve stockholders of the company could vote and they kept all of the power to themselves.

In 1644, the lower House of Deputies consisted of two elected members from each town, and an elected upper House of Assistants. These elected assistants, few in number, had replaced the twelve original stockholders, and were elected from the entire colony, as was the

governor. The men who were elected were usually wealthy, had great prestige, and were re-elected year after year for life.

The House of Deputies elected their own presiding officer, or speaker while the governor presided over the House of Assistants. The General Court was modeled very much after the English Parliament.

Representative assemblies from Georgia to New Hampshire provided English settlers an opportunity to practice self-government. By the time the English colonies proclaimed independence in 1776, all colonies had had experience in electing their own officials and in making their own laws.

There was also a close tie between local and colonial-wide government in the English colonies. The people elected not only their local officials, but the officials of the entire colony as well.

There were two main types of local governments, the town in New England and the county in the South. The New England town had many similarities with the Mexican town. Both had been transplanted from Europe to the New World.

In the southern colonies, where the Anglican Church was widely established, the smallest political unit was the parish. The political boundaries were the same as the Church boundaries. Elected planters served on the vestry, or governing body. They had the power to tax for the support of the Church, care of the poor, and education of the young.

The counties were composed of several parishes, or would be the same territory as one large parish. A number of justices of the peace, who were appointed by the governor, made, executed, and enforced the laws. A county court was usually held once a month, at which time they administered justice and took care of such masters as the assessment of taxes and the surveying of roads. Orders of the court were carried out by the sheriff. Other county officials included the surveyer, constable, and coroner. Sessions were held at the county seat, usually no more than a courthouse at a convenient crossroads.

Every two years, elections from county were usually held for the colonial legislature. Property tests were

universal, but usually so low that even small farmers could vote. While the large planter class was always outnumbered by small farmers, the political as well as social tone was set by the planter class. They were the ones most often elected to state and local positions.

Most of the people who settled at first in New England came from English towns. They also came as organized congregations that elected their own ministers and managed their own Church affairs. It was, therefore, natural that they would settle close together in a town, rather than scatter out over the country as did southern settlers. Regular Churches and schooling was maintained by town rather than country settlement.

In some ways, the New England town was similar to the town in Mexico. Both were governed by elected officials. All of the citizens of the town had the right to vote. Levying of taxes, distribution of land, establishment of schools, and passing of local ordinances were all matters that came before the town meetings. Elected selectmen carried on the duties of the town between meetings.

As towns grew in size, it became impractical for everyone to vote for every decision. Many of the duties which had been handled in the town meeting were transferred to selectmen acting as the town council (in Mexico, *cabildo*).

In one important way the New England town was different from the Mexican town. The New England town meeting continued to be convened once each year to select representatives to the colonial legislature. The combination of town, county, and colonial representative government provided English colonies with models which were easily adjusted to the needs of self-government when the United States became independent.

The basic form of these models was outlined in the charter of the colony. The charter was a grant which set forth the organization and powers of the colonial government. When the colonies became independent, they were already familiar with the idea of constitutions. So suitable were the charters of Connecticut and Rhode Island, which had an elected governor as well as an elected legislature, that only minor amendments were necessary.

English colonists also were permitted to attain more experience in the administration of their colonial

governments. In Mexico, all high positions were filled by men who had been born in Spain. They were sent to the colonies to rule the Spanish colonists because the king thought he could trust them more than he could Spaniards born in the colonies. The Spaniards born in Spain were called *Gachupines*, whereas the Mexican-born Spanish were known as *Creoles*. Because *Creoles* were not permitted to serve in positions of leadership, they became disinterested in politics and in the affairs of government. They felt that it was something that did not concern them. When independence came to Mexico, most *Creoles* lacked experience in public administration which would have been helpful to the success of the new government. After independence, *Gachupines* were ordered out of the country. Mexico thus lost many of the people who were skilled in government and business.

In the English colonies, most of the high officials were born in England. But colonials, men born in the colonies, could rise to the highest offices in the country. In 1691, the king appointed a New England man, Sir Edmund Phips, as governor of Massachusetts under the new royal charter. Thomas Hutchinson, born in Boston in 1711, was the last royal governor of Massachusetts. The charter colonies, Connecticut and Rhode Island, elected their governor from the citizens of the colony. Benjamin Franklin served as postmaster general of the colonies. Colonials were frequently appointed as deputies to carry on the work in the colonies while the actual office holder stayed in England. In these ways, Americans learned much of the practical experience of government.

When the movement for independence came, it was natural for people born in the colonies to feel more American than more recent arrivals from England. On the other hand, native born Englishmen, such as Thomas Paine, were for American independence. When the break came, there were many American-born English who remained loyal to England. It was not until after a year of fighting that the colonies finally moved to become independent in 1776. Loyalists, people who supported England in the United States, lost lands and property, just as did *Gachupines* had in Mexico.

Social Class and Revolution in Mexico and the United States

Section Organizer

The political institutions of a culture are influenced by the distribution of wealth and the division of a population into social classes. In Mexico, there had developed during the Colonial Period three privileged classes--large landowner, Church, and army. At first, they opposed revolution in Mexico. Then, in 1821, they supported revolution as a means to preserve their privileges. Independence came to Mexico as a reaction of these groups to the efforts of the Indians and *mestizos* to get land.

In the United States, property was more widely distributed. People of all classes were patriots who wanted independence, Tories who were loyal to the king, and others who were indifferent. Independence came to the United States primarily as a political, rather than social class, revolution.

Social Class and Revolution in Mexico

Mexico

During the early years of the nineteenth century, Mexico prospered. Then a series of events took place which destroyed the stability of the government. Charles IV was forced to give up the throne, France invaded Spain, and Napoleon attempted to place his brother on the Spanish throne. Here was an issue that the American colonists did not have to face--the question of a legal government.

The Revolution in Mexico was a class struggle--the rich against the poor. The Indians and who were poor and landless had little to lose and much to gain from a revolution. The first to lead them in battle was Father Hidalgo, a priest. He and his followers wanted freedom from Spain and land for the people. Hidalgo was betrayed, captured, and shot. Another priest, Morelos, took his place and was also captured and shot. Thus, the landless class, the Indians and , were defeated by the wealthy landowners, the Spanish and .

When Independence finally came in 1821, it was not won by the poor landless class. It was won by the who wanted to maintain their wealth, privileges, and power. The revolted because it appeared that the government of Spain was about to be overthrown. This would mean that the Constitution of 1812 would be reinstated and the would lose their wealth, privileges, and power. They believed that independence would protect their position.

United States

When the United States had obtained its independence, it began with a stable government. This was not the case in Mexico. The government of Mexico was overthrown many times during the nineteenth century. This instability resulted largely because the independence movement in Mexico was split along economic and social class lines. The issue of class and privileges in Mexican society was not settled in 1821; it was merely postponed.

Stable Political Development in the United States

Section Organizer

Except for the Civil War, political changes in the United States have taken place in an orderly fashion. The Constitution of 1787 was ratified, or approved, by the various states. A Bill of Rights was added to the Constitution in the form of the first Ten Amendments. Amendments XIX, XIV, and XV were passed to protect the rights of the people.

More important than formal amendment of the Constitution has been amendment by interpretation of the courts. In this way the Constitution meets changing conditions. Much of American political stability reflects the fact that the ideals of the American Revolution were the moderate ideals of the Glorious Revolution of 1689. These ideals included legislative supremacy and the rights of property.

Stable Political Development in the United States

Next to England, the United States has the oldest government in the world. Political development has been stable. This has resulted as much from an attitude toward government as well as the practical organization of government. What was this attitude toward government?

England went through a revolutionary period in the seventeenth century. It ended in the Glorious Revolution of 1689. Parliament got rid of James II and brought in William of Orange as king. From that time forward an elected legislative body would have supreme power. The ideas of the Glorious Revolution were explained by an English writer, John Locke. He gave a justification for revolution in his Treatise on Civil Government. Some of his ideas were: stable government is necessary to protect the property and happiness of man; governments depend on a contract made by the people among themselves; and governments can be abolished and a new one set up if they violate their contract with the people. Other ideas were that the powers of government should be separated into legislative, executive, and judicial functions so that no one man would have too much power.

The American revolutionaries used as their model the Glorious Revolution of 1689. They did not set out to destroy the old order. They set out only to end British control. They kept the British common law and the British legislative system. They kept the attitude that rule should be based on majority election of representatives, not military force. And they believed in writing up the agreement among people to have a government in the form of a contract, or constitution.

The Americans fought the Revolutionary War mainly as an informal alliance. Each state was equally represented in the war Congress, the Second Continental Congress, which met in 1776. From the beginning, the Americans knew they would have to invent a new kind of government. They had to have a national government to take care of international and other matters of national concern. There were thirteen separate states, some very large, like Virginia, and some very small, like Rhode Island.

The first constitution of the United States was the Articles of Confederation. It went into effect in 1781. It had a national congress in which the states were equally represented. It did not have an elected president or national judges. The national government under the Articles had the major national powers--war, peace, international relations--but it had no machinery of government. It had to depend on the state governments for the allocation of funds and the enforcement of national laws.

Things did not seem to go so well, according to some leaders. The national government could not collect taxes and could not regulate trade and business among the states. In 1787, the Congress authorized delegates to meet in Philadelphia to amend the Articles. The delegates decided to write a new constitution. The Constitution went into effect when ratified or approved by nine states. Eventually all thirteen states ratified the Constitution and joined the new Union.

The government under this constitution has been called a federal government. A federal government is based on a sharing of powers between different governments. There is one national government. It has power over the whole country. Under the Articles, the national Congress had to ask the states to supply their share of money for the national government. Under the Constitution, the national Congress has the authority to tax the people of the country. It has its own tax collection service.

The states are part of the federal system, but are not part of the national government. Each state has its own separate government. It has powers which the national government does not have. The states are important in the federal system of the United States of America because they were once independent colonies and states.

Not all people in the United States wanted the new Constitution of 1787. The people who wanted a stronger national government took the name "Federalists." Later people who did not want such a strong government took the name "Republicans." This was the beginning of political parties. Although there were differences of opinion about government, Americans followed the rule of the majority until the Civil War.

Abraham Lincoln was elected President in 1860. He did not start out to set the slaves free. He wanted to limit the further growth of slavery. But South Carolina and some other states refused to accept the rule of law. They refused to accept the results of the election and tried to secede from the Union. Lincoln did not believe that a state could secede. He was willing to use force to keep the states in the Union. The southern slave states formed a government called the Confederate States of America. They fought the government of the United States for four years from 1861 to 1865. The South lost the war and their economy was in ruins. The South was forced to accept three war amendments. The XII freed the slaves, the XIV put the citizens of states under the national Bill of Rights, and the XV gave Negroes the right to vote. The Civil War changed the United States from a free association of states to a national union. The form of state governments were kept, but there was no longer any doubt as to the main power in the United States. It was the national government.

After the Civil War, big business expanded greatly in the United States under the protection of the national and state governments. During this same time period, big business was also expanding in Mexico, under the direction of President Diaz. Most of this expansion in Mexico was a result of foreign investments which were encouraged by Diaz.

A reaction to this trend in Mexico and the United States occurred during the 1930s when Roosevelt and Cardenas were Presidents of their respective countries. These Presidents were concerned with the needs of the people and many social reforms took place in both countries during their terms in office. The world depression of the 1930s created a demand for social services and contributed to the changes in the political institutions of Mexico and the United States.

Except for the Civil War, there has never been any serious challenge to the rule of law in the United States. Elected governors and presidents have served their terms of office, and have been replaced at the end of their terms by duly elected officials.

There have been threats to the lives of United States Presidents, however. Assassins have taken the lives of Presidents Lincoln, Garfield, McKinley, and Kennedy, and Presidents Jackson, Theodore Roosevelt, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and Truman have been the target of attempted

assassinations. These acts appear to be the work of mentally ill individuals rather than organized political movements.

To maintain political stability it is always necessary to be committed to the rule of law.

Instability, Reform, Reaction, and Revolution in Mexico

Section Organizer

For a hundred years after Independence, the political institutions of Mexico continued to be very unstable. Lawlessness, foreign wars, civil war, and foreign interference created problems for the country for almost fifty years. Constitutional reform under President Juarez was cut short by his death. A long period of stability and peace came with the dictatorship of Porfirio Diaz. But it did not improve the lives of the people. In 1910, the Mexican Revolution began. It burst over the country like the waters of a dam--violent and destructive. The social objectives of Independence, delayed a hundred years, were written into the Constitution of 1917. This constitution is a platform of social action designed to improve the lives of the people. But it was not until the 1930s that the Revolution was stabilized and many improvements were actually made.

Instability, Reform, Reaction and Revolution in Mexico

For over 100 years, between 1821 and 1930, the political institutions of Mexico were unstable.

Between 1821 and 1855 the government of Mexico changed many times. Iturbide declared himself Emperor of Mexico in 1821. He made many mistakes, committed many violent deeds, and even dissolved the congress. In 1824 he was captured and executed.

A federal republic, modeled after that of the United States, was then adopted. A federal constitution was written which proved bad for Mexico. There was no tradition of self-government at the state level. The state governors often acted independently of the federal government. The people were deeply divided over the privileges of the church, the ownership of land, and the authority of the army. At that time the army had the power to settle disagreements in the government. The government was overthrown several times while people with different beliefs struggled for power. During this period of instability, only one constitutionally elected President served his term.

The most important person of this long period was Santa Anna, who was President of Mexico six different times. It was during his term of office that he lost all of northern Mexico to the United States. Texas and the southwest were lost by war and Mesilla was sold to the United States. Many people believe that Santa Anna and other leaders during that period used their high offices for their own personal pleasure and profit rather than for the good of the country. Often they were supported by the people who wanted to hold on to their old privileges.

One of the most famous of all Mexican Presidents, Benito Juarez, led Mexico twice between 1857 and 1872. Juarez was a full-blooded Indian who became a lawyer before he assumed the Presidency. He tried to establish the rule of law, and is to Mexico what Lincoln is to the United States.

In 1855 Santa Anna was ousted from office and a new constitution was written in 1857. This constitution, as with previous constitutions, prohibited the Church from owning property and limited the power of the army. *Ejido* lands, which belonged to groups of Indians, were divided up because the government thought that private ownership would help the economy.

The Church did not accept the reform, and civil war broke out. Unlike the previous period, however, Juarez kept up a government under the Constitution of 1857 which claimed to be the legal government. When Juarez and his followers were winning the civil war, the conservatives who fought against him brought in the French. They named Maximilian as Emperor of Mexico and he served in this office from 1864 until 1867. He thought that the Mexicans really wanted him to be their Emperor and he followed many of the policies of Juarez, which angered the conservatives. Maximilian refused to leave the country when the French soldiers left, and he was captured and shot. Juarez came back to power and was President until his death in 1872. He struggled mightily to bring law and order to Mexico.

After Juarez' death, the conservatives again controlled the government. The army, the Church, and the big landholders regained their power. The land which had been taken away from the Church and the Indian villages during Juarez' Presidency, ended up in the hands of wealthy men who sold it to others who were wealthy. By the time the Revolution came in 1910 most of Mexico's people were landless.

In 1876 Porfirio Diaz became President of Mexico. He was re-elected several times and held office until the Revolution of 1910. He did not permit people to disagree with his policies and used his *rurales*, a paid group of men, who beat up or killed those who opposed him.

Diaz increased the economic development of Mexico by bringing in foreign investors but he ignored the social needs of the people. Only the foreigners and wealthy Mexican businessmen benefitted from his policies. During the same period, business, rather than the working man, was prospering in the United States, as well as in Mexico. The United States courts were supporting industry rather than the labor unions.

In 1910, almost 89 years after Independence, the Mexican Revolution broke out. It began with the claim of "No re-election" by Francisco Madero, the son of a large landowning family.

Madero's belief that Presidents should not be re-elected attracted followers from throughout the country. Many of them became important leaders in Mexico. Among them were Alvaro Obregon in the state of Sonora, Pancho Villa in Chihuahua, and Venustiano Carranza in Coahuila. Emiliano

Zapata in Morelos soon joined the Revolution by burning *haciendas* and giving land to his Indian followers. The federal army under Diaz was unable to stop the rebellion. Madero was elected President in 1911 and Diaz left the country in exile.

The Revolution, as with the war of independence 100 years earlier, included people with many different beliefs. There were adventurers who wanted loot, politicians who wanted power, and peasants who wanted land. These people battled one another and President Madero was killed by the followers of Victoriano Huerta who took over the country only to be driven into exile as Diaz had been.

Carranza became President and had Pancho Villa and Zapata killed during a struggle for power. He was replaced by Obregon followed by Calles. Obregon was assassinated in 1928. Thus all of the leaders of the Revolution met violent death by murder.

The Presidents were driven from office and killed but the Revolution was achieved. The Constitution of 1917 kept the federal form of government, but its most remarkable achievements were the articles dealing with labor and land reform. The Constitution called for large *haciendas* to be divided up and given to the landless peasants. Mexico had apparently achieved political stability. But the control of the country by Calles was too much like the old days of peace under Diaz.

In the early 1920's under the Presidency of Obregon, an attempt was made to start the social reform promised in the Constitution of 1917. Obregon tried to begin a program of free public education. He encouraged labor to organize into unions, and he attempted to divide up the and give it to the people.

Calles, who became President after Obregon, continued distributing land to the poor, built highways, started irrigation projects, and established a national bank. But all of his efforts were not for the benefit of Mexico. Many of his decisions were made to increase his own wealth and power and history books do not speak well of him.

Larzaro Cardenas, who served as President from 1934-1940, accelerated the distribution of land to the poor and nationalized many industries. To nationalize means that the government takes over industries or businesses that were privately owned. The property of foreign investors,

including United States citizens who controlled the oil industry, were expropriated. This means that they had the rights to the oil industry taken away from them by the Mexican government.

At the same time that Mexico was speeding up its social changes, the United States was going through somewhat similar changes through the New Deal. Both Mexico and the United States owe much of their most advanced social and economic legislation to this period.

Since the 1920's, Mexico has enjoyed a stable government. Political changes now take place through legal procedures established in the Constitution rather than by revolt or civil war. For the past 50 years the army, which played such a large role in the unstable period, has been relatively unimportant. The supremecy of the civil government has been established in Mexico.

The Contemporary Political Heritage: United States and Mexico

Section Organizer

The present day governments of the United States and Mexico are both federal, constitutional republics with elected presidents for limited terms of office. In both countries there is a three-way division of executive, legislative, and judicial powers. There are political parties in both countries.

The similarities are not as important as the differences. In the United States, the federal system is more a reality than in Mexico. For many years, state governments in Mexico have been under the national government. In Mexico, the powers of the president are so great that he might be regarded as an elected dictator. The legislative branch does not have equal power with the President. In the United States, the Congress and the judiciary are equal branches of government, although in recent years the President has become more influential in legislative as well as executive matters.

In the United States, there are two major national political parties. At the national level, these are merely smaller groups joined together to the presidency. Mexico is a one-party state in which the Revolution is institutionalized in the official party--the Partido Revolucionario Institucional. As in the United States, the military forces no longer play an important role in Mexican politics.

In political-economic action, Mexico appears to be more inclined toward socialism whereas the United States still inclines toward capitalism. Socialism in Mexico means government control, ownership, and operation of many industries and services. Capitalism in the United States means private control, ownership, and operation of industries and services. As a matter of fact, these distinctions become blurred. Both countries contain elements of socialism and capitalism. Modern day economics tend to be political economies. Government decision is highly influential in both countries.

THE CONTEMPORARY POLITICAL HERITAGE: UNITED STATES AND MEXICO

In this concluding section, some general comparisons will be made of political institutions in Mexico and the United States. Contrasts sometimes lead to overgeneralizations, that is, the differences seem greater than they really are. It is thought, however, that these contrasts will help the reader appreciate how the difference in the history of Mexico and the United States is reflected in the processes by which the government is operated.

Constitution

Mexico and the United States both have federal constitutions. Mexico's dates from 1917 and is easily amended. The United States Constitution dates from 1787 and is very difficult to amend. But the Constitution of the United States is more than the seven articles and 26 amendments. This results from the fact that the "living" or real constitution is much wider in scope than in the original constitution. For example, the Constitution only gives the power to declare war to the Congress. The President is said to be the commander-in-chief. Under one interpretation of presidential power, presidents have committed Americans to overseas engagements and wars, as in the Vietnam War. The President, the courts, and Congress interpret and expand the meaning of the constitution.

There is a major difference in the tone of the American and Mexican constitutions. The United States Constitution of 1787 was drafted to try to make a stronger national government. It emphasizes the organizational aspects of government. The Mexican Constitution of 1917 came in a period of social and economic change as well as political change. Its most important articles are perhaps 27 and 123. These outline a broad program of farm and labor reform. Individual rights are less important than the rights of the state. Another part of the Constitution, article 3, says that religious organizations may have nothing to do with elementary education. Similar provisions are not found in the United States Constitution of 1787. These were not major concerns of the American people of that time. Today the national government provides much educational assistance to states, even though the word education is not mentioned in the Constitution.

Federal System

The United States federal system is made up of 50 state governments and a national government. Mexico's federal system is made up of 29 state governments and a national government. There is also a federal district in each country where the capital city is located.

The federal government of Mexico was modeled after the United States. As noted before, the provinces of Mexico were not self-governing units prior to Independence as were the English colonies. They were merely divisions of the Mexican administration.

The President of the United States has no control over a state governor. A state government is not part of the national administration. In Mexico, the state governments are more closely tied to the national government. A combination of powers makes it possible for the President of Mexico to interfere in state administrations in a way that is not possible in the United States. In recent years, the state governments seem to get less interference from the national government. This is taken as a sign that the people of Mexico are beginning to make the federal system work for them.

President

There is an elected president in both countries. The President of Mexico is limited to one six-year term (remember the revolutionary cry "No re-election!"); the twenty-second amendment to the United States Constitution limits the President to two four-year terms. These restrictions on term reflect an attitude that came after the Diaz and Roosevelt regimes--no man should be in office term after term.

The Presidents of Mexico and the United States are both head of state and head of government. This means that the President takes care of both the ceremonial functions, as does the Queen for England, but also the governmental jobs, which in England, are carried out by the Prime Minister.

Both offices are very powerful offices, but the Mexican President has even greater power in his country than the President of the United States does in this country. The President of Mexico has not only broad powers of appointment of officials and control of finance. He also has powers of legislation. The President can issue basic rules--*reglamento*--which have the same force of a law passed by Congress. This is the form in which much of Mexican law appears.

The Mexican President also controls the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI). Since this is the major party in the Congress, it is easy for the President to get laws passed that he wants. The President of Mexico has sometimes been said to have the powers of a temporary dictator.

Political Parties

Mexico is a one party state, with an official or government party. It is the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI). Other parties are permitted, but nomination by the PRI is the same thing as election. Nevertheless, presidential candidates of the PRI tour even the back sections of the country, bringing the PRI message to the voters.

The United States has for years been a two party state. The two major parties since the Civil War have been the Democratic and Republican Parties. But in the United States, there is no strong national organization. People calling themselves Democrats or Republicans can run in a local or state party primary. The local and state parties unite every four years to elect a President. The President elected by the successful party is regarded as the head of party, but he cannot dictate to state or local party officials. If a President wishes to run for a second term--and he usually does--he is usually nominated by his party. He has every advantage. But he does not pick his successor.

In Mexico, the PRI not only chooses people for appointive positions, but it chooses people for elective positions. The President controls the PRI and appoints the head of the party's executive committee. Also, the President, after consultation with party officials, selects his own successor. Three sectors are represented in the party--farm, city worker, and popular. In the early 1940's, the army sector of the party was disbanded. The PRI fills an educational, communication, and political function not found in parties in the United States.

Congress

Mexico and the United States both have national congresses and state legislative bodies. In each country, the congress is bi-cameral, made up of two houses. The lower house in Mexico is called the Chamber of Deputies; in the United States, House of Representatives. Lower house representation is based on population in both countries. The upper house in both countries is called the Senate, with two senators from each state.

But Congress in Mexico does not have the importance that Congress has in the United States. Congress in the United States has always been jealous of the powers of the President. It controls legislation. Sometimes when the President and Congress are in agreement, legislation will be passed very quickly. When the President and Congress belong to different parties--as during the Eisenhower and Nixon administrations--the Congress may not pass legislation desired by the President.

In contrast, the Congress of Mexico is a weak body. It does not meet very often. Congress is dominated by the President through the PRI. On paper, the Chamber of Deputies is very powerful. It has the power to pass the budget and initiate tax bills. This was the way that the English Parliament and the colonial assemblies expanded their power.

But in Mexico it seems that the people have come to prefer the tradition of a strong President. The President of Mexico, after all, replaced the office of viceroy.

Judiciary

Mexico and the United States both have an appointed supreme court. The terms of office of judges in both countries are for life. There are district and circuit courts in both countries.

There are two important differences in the judiciary in the United States and Mexico. In the United States, the judiciary claimed to be an equal branch of government. Under Chief Justice Marshall, the Supreme Court set the prededent of declaring laws or acts of the President unconstitutional. In Mexico, the Supreme Court does not claim such a right. It only suspends the application of the law in the particular case being reviewed.

The Supreme Court of Mexico has 21 judges and sits in four divisions--penal, civil, administrative, and labor. The United States Supreme Court has nine judges that sit as one court. A decision of the Mexican Supreme Court does not become binding on lower courts until after five consecutive decisions on an issue. In the United States, a decision of the Supreme Court is binding on lower courts after one decision.

Army

The army no longer plays the dominant role in Mexico that it once did. Since 1920, no President has gained office through the army. Two army revolts, one in 1928 and 1938, failed. Today, Mexico spends much less on the national budget for defense services than does the United States. Whereas almost half of the national budget is spent on defense in the United States, less than 15 per cent is spent for defense in Mexico. During World War II, the Mexican Army was reorganized along U. S. military lines. Today the Mexican Army serves primarily as an internal security force. In contrast to the United States, the Mexican Army is also active in civic projects, such as reforestation and public health services.

The Army and the Navy in the United States have always been subject to civil power. Since World War II, the defense forces have enjoyed a much larger share of the national budget--almost 50%. Service as a peacetime officer has carried new prestige. Political candidates from Jackson to Eisenhower found a successful military career a help rather than a burden. The military has never tried to influence political outcomes, although some officers have been outspoken in their political views.

Church

For almost the entire history of Mexico, the institution of the Church was long dominant in political affairs. It was not until the late 1920s that the political influence of the Church was finally destroyed. Today, as in the past, the vast majority of Mexicans are Roman Catholic and are loyal to their faith. In every day politics, however, the Church no longer attempts to influence political decisions. The role of the Church today is more nearly like that of the various religious bodies in the United States.

Religion, as an organized institution, stopped being a political force in the United States long ago. Political attitudes are nevertheless still influenced by religious beliefs. However, acts of religious prejudices are usually not encouraged, and religious discrimination is unconstitutional.

Socialism and Capitalism

Mexico has many government controlled corporations. The railways and the petroleum industries are two nationalized industries . Much land in Mexico has been nationalized, compensation paid, and distribution made to *ejiditarios*, or farmers. Mexico is more inclined to use government ownership as a solution to economic-political problems than is the United States. The tradition, however, is very old. According to Spanish law, subsoil rights--minerals and underground waters--belonged to the crown, and did not go with ownership of the topsoil. It has been easy for Mexicans to extend this idea to many fields of government, so that politics and business in Mexico have become closely interwoven.

There are many examples of government corporations in the United States. The Tennessee Valley Authority is one of the best known. The TVA tried to do for the Tennessee area what President Cardenas did in the Laguna district of Durango, Mexico. But on the whole, the United States' approach has been largely directed toward the regulation of business rather than toward the ownership of business.

In time, these distinctions do not seem so important. More important are the protections provided workers, consumers, businessmen, the general economy, and political stability. Thus today both Mexico and the United States have things which might be called socialistic and capitalistic. Most modern economies are, in fact, political economies. Economics depend on the government as well as production and marketing factors. Today, as in much of the world, the political economies of Mexico and the United States are mixed economies. As in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, government and businessman and government and farmer are once more partners in making a living and producing taxes to support the government. In doing this, they help keep the economy going.

Summary

This chapter has described the diffusion of Spanish and English political institutions to the New World. It has described the basic continuity of the Spanish heritage in the development of Mexican institutions and a similar continuity in English institutions in the development of the United States. Both countries, however, invented new political traits after Independence to fit to the particular cultures and needs of each country. Thus while today there are many similarities in the outward forms of government in the two countries, there are many variations in the political traits of the two countries. A fundamental part of this trait variation is the historical difference in attitude toward representative government and democratic institutions. Each country, however, has developed the political institutions which are most suitable to its culture and its needs.